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CIS Leaders Review Highs, Lows of 1993

PM3012180393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Dec 93 First Edition pp 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8

[Unattributed feature: "Leaders of the CIS Countries Answer IZVESTIYA's Question"]

[Text] On the eve of the New Year, IZVESTIYA put a single question to the heads of the CIS countries:

Which was the happiest day for you in the outgoing year, and which was the most difficult?

Boris Yeltsin, President of Russia

Your question goes straight to the point. I will not forget 1993. You can guess why.

3-4 October, the storming of the White House... I admit that for me this decision was not only forced on me, it was the most agonizing and difficult decision. On that tragic night, hour after hour I watched real signs of civil war developing in Russia, with consequences far in excess of the Russian people's national tragedy at the beginning of the century. The decision had to be made quickly. I took that step for the sake of a single goal—to avoid war within the country. I am not likely to forget all I felt during those days and hours.

Now, for an emotionally positive event in the past year. It was, of course, the adoption of the new Constitution.

My compatriots, the people of Russia, once again demonstrated the people's wisdom. That event, that day, can, for me, be seen as the goal of my political career. I was working toward it for three years, and I am happy that Russia has at last acquired an intelligent, worthy Constitution.

Nursultan Nazarbayev, President of Kazakhstan

Almaty—This year was extremely tense both for Kazakhstan and for the Commonwealth, and probably for the entire world community. Amid the kaleidoscope of complex and dramatic events of this year, it is not easy to identify the most important.

Fratricidal conflicts in various regions of the Commonwealth brought pain and suffering. But in the main we were able to prevent them from developing into global interstate clashes. Wisdom and farsightedness doubtless lie not in driving conflicts underground, but averting them by political means.

In our countries there is a growing awareness of the futility of confrontation between peoples. And nobody but ourselves can stop that confrontation.

The most important thing that should exist in relations among our countries is equality, friendship, and consideration for mutual interests. That will undoubtedly help us to reach a new level of integration. I hope the language of cooperation and mutual understanding will become the basis of our partnership.

Let me take this opportunity to congratulate IZVESTIYA's collective and all its readers on the new year, 1994, and to express the wish that everyone may have as many peaceful and joyous days as possible. I would wish us to cherish our main asset—good-neighborliness and the indissoluble bonds of friendship.

Leonid Kravchuk, President of Ukraine

Kiev—I realize these are metaphorical questions: It is not easy to single out one or two days from the whole torrent of days. Let me say, I am pleased when some question that is important to Ukraine is resolved, when a step is taken toward boosting our prestige in the international arena or when, say, we have been able to reach agreement with our neighbors or within the state on some economic, political, or diplomatic question. Or when a sick grandson or granddaughter gets better—then I am happy. And I am pleased when people smile at our meetings—I know how hard things are for them, they think it is partly my fault, and that is true, but it is a sign that they believe in Ukraine's future.

The most important, crucial act this year, from the viewpoint of the state's future, was parliament's adoption of the decision on early elections. I am convinced that the present parliament, whatever you may think of it, is not capable of doing more than it has done. And that is not simply the deputies' fault—the parliament was elected in a different time, it bears the stamp of that time, and it is not professional. Therefore I was pleased that it was not necessary to use any strong-arm measures to persuade the deputies of what they ought to do.

As for major unpleasantnesses, I have had two this year.

The first was the miners' summer strike. I saw disaster was not far off. After that, there was the meeting with the Russian delegation in Massandra. Russia then saw how hard the strikes were hitting Ukraine, and it was brought to its knees by internal problems. On top of that there was external pressure, and people were taking advantage of our weakness.

And the second difficult day, and difficult night, for me—3 October in Moscow. I knew that if the Khasbulatov and Rutskoy crew was victorious in the White House, similar processes would begin, as usual, in Ukraine. That evening I had information that in some regions people were already preparing practical steps to overthrow the presidential structures and restore Soviet power under the slogan: "All power to the soviets." It could have meant extremely difficult times, even bloodshed. I cannot ever remember feeling such agitation in recent years or having such an outlook.

Stanislav Shushkevich, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Belarus

Minsk—I cannot distinguish one day from another in the past year, and therefore I cannot name the most difficult. There was a lot of work on the Supreme Soviet—

intensive work, highly necessary to the republic and the people. Unfortunately, it was necessary to "chase" certain dishonest people. They sometimes raised problems of what I would call back-street significance. All this diverted attention and cost time and effort. The behavior and actions of certain leaders, even some of very high rank, who say they care about the people is annoying.

The most gratifying days in the past year were when the Belarus Supreme Soviet adopted the laws on public privatization. The republic government's task is to fulfill these laws, so that instead of a handful of millionaires getting rich, the entire people have something, to make life a little bit easier for them. The fate of the Belarusian people is all too hard, they have borne too much in their history, and things are very difficult for them at present. They have a right to a better life.

I would like to take this opportunity sincerely to congratulate all IZVESTIYA's readers on the coming New Year and to wish them good health, happiness, prosperity, and calm.

Mircea Snegur, President of Moldova

Chisinau—It is perhaps better to speak about features rather than days, because I almost never have a day that is absolutely happy. So, now for what is sad, or rather vexatious. I am talking about the Tiraspol leaders' incredible lack of understanding of the changed situation. Despite the efforts and initiative of the republic leadership, we have not succeeded in moving toward the elimination of the consequences of the conflict. God and the people will be their judge.

Now for what is happy. We have had a year of peace. Privatization has begun. We have introduced a national currency. Certain other steps were also taken along the path of consolidating the republic and its statehood and independence.

At the personal level, for me, of course, the big event was my grandson's first birthday.

Happy New Year to all IZVESTIYA's readers!

Islam Karimov, President of Uzbekistan

Tashkent—I cannot name a specific day: Every day in the past year was both difficult and happy in its way.

There are many people who do not like peace and accord, political stability in the republic, and the consistent, phased implementation of economic reforms. To be frank, our opponents cannot tolerate two factors which determine our true wealth: One is the interethnic and civic accord, the cohesion of all the inhabitants of Uzbekistan, and the other is Uzbekistan's gold, our high-carat gold, which is becoming famous throughout the world and is winning prestige in the international market.

Incidentally, as of today, Uzbek gold worth $500 million is invested in West European banks as a guarantee. We intend to bring the account up to $1 billion, in order to widen the influx of foreign investments into Uzbekistan's economy.

Imamali Rakhmonov, Chairman of the Tajikistan Supreme Council

It is hard to single out my happiest day in the past year. But nonetheless, I think the January days were the happiest. In that period, in a short space of time, Dushanbe, which was devoid of people, came to life following the advent of constitutional power. I was happy to see smiles appearing on the citizens' faces. People straightened their shoulders—the fear had gone, and real hope had sprung up for the establishment of peace, stabilization, and the attainment of national accord. That was when I was happy, in purely human terms.

The most difficult time for me, as for all the people and the republic as a whole, was, unfortunately, the whole of 1993. It was the most difficult year in my entire life. During this period very many socioeconomic difficulties and problems have arisen, which we have worked and are now working to resolve.

I hope 1994 will be the year of the normalization of the highly complex situation on the Tajik-Afghan border, a year of mutual understanding and accord between forces of different political orientations in our country, for the sake of achieving peace and security not only in Tajikistan, but throughout the Central Asian region.

Saparmurad Niyazov, President of Turkmenistan

Ashgabat—I will not try to isolate the single most difficult day; there were many such days. But I associate the happy day with that sunny day in December when Turkmenistan and Russia found one another in a new capacity. The appearance on the eve of the session of CIS heads of state of the agreement on the settlement of dual citizenship questions, the process of resettlement, and the defense of the rights of migrants, and also the treaty on the joint security of the Turkmenistan's border, in many ways determined the success of the summit meeting in Ashgabat also. I confess, the decision connected with these documents was arrived at with difficulty. Both sides' groups of experts worked long and painstakingly on the agreements. We were perfectly aware what role these documents are designed to play in establishing democratic ideals and defending the individual's right to choose. I was happy that we reached agreement...

Askar Akayev, President of Kyrgyzstan

Bishkek— The happiest day was 5 May 1993, when Kyrgyzstan's Constitution was adopted, opening the way for the progressive development of the republic, for the construction of a democratic state, and the formation of a civil, rule-of-law society. I am convinced that not only

members of the constitutional commission who formulated this Constitution, and not only the deputies who adopted it, will be proud of it, but also the future generations of Kyrgyzstan.

The most difficult day was 20 December, when a crisis of state power arose at a session of the republic Supreme Council, and the opposition of the two branches—the legislative and the executive—reached its very apogee.

The difficult and only possible solution in this situation was a decision by the whole government to resign. I am glad that this difficult step, this difficult day, and this difficult decision enabled us to resolve several problems at once. This made it possible for us to avoid conflict or confrontation both in parliament itself and within the republic. After this decision, everyone felt some kind of relief, and I am glad that we found the path of harmony and consensus in forming the new government. This new government can be called a coalition government.

Geydar Aliyev, President of the Azerbaijan Republic

Baku—It is hard for me to speak about a happy day. Indeed, how is it ossible to be happy, when Azerbaijan is being subjected to aggression, when 20 percent of its territory is occupied, and the republic has 1.2 million hungry refugees? There can be no happy day, happy hour, or happy moment for any president in the world in a similar situation, I am convinced. This, I am convinced, is out of the question.

As for a complex or, as you remarked, difficult day, perhaps it was the day I assumed the heavy responsibility for the fate of the Azerbaijani state and its people.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan, President of Armenia

Yerevan—The happiest day for me will be the day peace is restored in Nagorno-Karabakh. Until that day, all days have been and will be difficult.

Progress in Integration of Armed Forces Reviewed

LD3012144993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1321 GMT 30 Dec 93

[Text] The December meeting of CIS heads of state and defense ministers in Ashgabat was one of the most important events of this year. As early as six months ago, General Ivashov, secretary of the CIS Council of Defense Ministers, spoke about the imminent integration of the commonwealth Armed Forces. Vyacheslav Morozov, correspondent of the Radar studio, talked to him.

[Begin recording] [Morozov] Leonid Grigoryevich, has the idea of setting up CIS Armed Forces already been dropped or is it still alive?

[Ivashov] I believe that nobody has dropped this idea. It has simply been postponed in connection with quite complex processes related to the formation of national armed forces, which are compounded by economic and financial difficulties as well as other difficulties which our society, our Commonwealth, is going through. Therefore, the idea has not been discarded, but it has simply been decided to move toward it stage by stage. And the things that took place in Ashgabat, at the joint meeting of the Council of Defense Ministers, the Council of Foreign Ministers, and the meeting of the Council of Heads of State show precisely that we are entering a new phase of our military cooperation. Quite specific decisions were adopted there. First, a headquarters to coordinate military cooperation was set up, its statute was approved, and the principles of its financing and the functions of the headquarters were defined.

I would note as a second point the fact that more than 18 months after the Tashkent collective security treaty was signed specific steps were taken to implement its provisions. A secretary general was appointed, a decision on priority steps to implement the treaty was adopted, and a mechanism was determined for other states to join the treaty. Georgia and Azerbaijan, for instance, have already joined the collective security treaty. Nine Commonwealth states now support the idea of the treaty, and they are starting to work on creating a collective security system.

Army General Vitaliy Grigoryevich Radetskiy, Ukrainian defense minister, made a heartening statement in the spirit of a constructive approach to the collective security system and military cooperation within the Commonwealth framework in general. So the idea is not only alive but has already been filled with specific content.

We are now in a period of transition to military integration and construction. An earlier stage was aimed at more or less civilized division of the Armed Forces, at our divorce, as it were, in the post-Soviet period. But now a creative stage is beginning, and I hope I am not mistaken on this matter. We will draw closer, step by step, restore a single defense space, and create a defense and security system by joint efforts. [end recording]

Tajik Forces Seen as 'Prototype'

LD3012193093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1746 GMT 30 Dec 93

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature; by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, Vladimir Shishlin, edited by Boris Grishchenko]

[Text] According to the chief of staff for coordinating CIS military cooperation, Colonel-General Viktor Samsonov, the CIS countries will create in the future collective armed forces. Samsonov considers as their prototype the peacekeepers in Tajikistan, which include armed units from Russia, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan.

Addressing in Moscow a news conference, Samsonov said that the CIS countries see for themselves that no one state can ensure military security independently. Samsonov drew the attention to the fact that at the CIS summit in Ashgabat, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Belarus

joined the treaty on collective security which was earlier signed by six CIS countries.

Samsonov praised Ukraine's growing interest to problems of collective security. Though the country did not sign the documents, it said it was going to consider its possible involvement in the collective security system.

Samsonov has called as one of the main results of the CIS Defense Ministers' Council meeting in Ashgabat the annulment of the chief command of the CIS Armed Forces and the creation of the staff for coordinating CIS military cooperation. Samsonov said that among the staff's tasks is the coordination of the CIS Defense Ministries' efforts for organizing and developing of the CIS armed forces, coordination of efforts to organize a system of air defense, as well as problems associated with the border guard of the Tajik-Afghan border.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 31 Dec

LD3112083993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0635 GMT 31 Dec 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow December 31 (ITAR-TASS)—Today's leading newspapers examine the results of the outgoing year and try to forecast what the coming year will bring to the country and its people.

The ROSSIISKAYA GAZETA newspaper features an interview with Sergey Volkov, D. Sc. (History), who says the following: "As for the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR), it is highly improbable that Vladimir Zhirinovskiy (LDPR leader) will quarrel with the president if Boris Yeltsin treats respectfully his party.

"He has always sided with Yeltsin at the most fateful moments: The dissolution of the old parliament and the approval of the new constitution... Yeltsin benefited most of all by the elections. Some people wanted to dump him and start the struggle for the presidential office, but it has become clear now that the country cannot do without him. He is the only mainstay."

In the scholar's opinion, "Zhirinovskiy will never be a president, and the LDPR will never collect more than 30-40 per cent of votes, as communists will never return to power peacefully under their own name."

"People increasingly evaluate politicians by their deeds rather than by their words," the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA newspaper notes. "The LDPR's success at the general elections is only the first stage of this party's downfall, as well as the downfall of many other politicians determining the fate of our country now.

"Russia," the newspaper continues, "is a country of revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries. We have been living in the conditions of the struggle between these two parties for 150 years. The composition of these parties constantly changes, and they come to power in turns. They grappled in a bloody fight in Moscow's centre in 1993.

"Neither side was wise enough and responsible to stop and even to retreat in order to prevent the country from going down the drain. Regrettably, the fight has not ended yet. Victors understand that they are not put in the dock. But they do not understand another thing: The camp of victors immediately divides into two factions of enemy friends. Russia has already experienced all this in the 20th century."

The same newspaper carries an article by Aleksey Arbatov, D.Sc. (History), saying the following: "The grim truth is that the previous stage of reforms failed. Cosmetic patching-up and personnel reshuffling will not improve the present situation.

"We should not 'continue the course of reforms' but should radically review both ways of drafting the policy and the policy itself.

"Only a law-governed state can carry out democratic reforms in the economy and policy. Not a single question of democratic construction can be settled by force. It only aggravates problems and yields diametrically opposite results."

The RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA newspaper runs an interview with Former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. "I cannot approve reforms, especially when they are connected with a change of an economic management system and the entire system and when authorities do not keep the ailments of reforms under control," he says.

"Policy disregarding people's interests is immoral. I'm also worried over a reverse movement from gained freedoms: from openness and democratic institutions which started functioning.

"If anybody thinks that it is possible to gain stability and order by discarding democracy, he makes a great mistake. If we are to speak about firm order, it has been always based on the efficient operation of all arms of government and firm implementation of laws rather than on arbitrary rule," Gorbachev stresses.

"I believe that Russia can restore its economic, political, constitutional, legal and spiritual wealth," former chairman of the Russian Constitutional Court writes in the PRAVDA newspaper.

"All of us should think over where we go, whom we elect and whom we obey. We should overcome legal nihilism. We should think abot responsibility, above all, of statesmen and officials."

The SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA newspaper prints an interview with Metropolitan Gedeon who says: "As a believer I claim: Russia is the home of Holy Virgin. The mother of Jesus Christ cares for our homeland. But we turned away from her. 'Freedom' was granted to us.

"Well, we partook of this freedom—immorality, crime, drug addiction and such shame when our Russian girls go to sell themselves to underdeveloped countries for a piece of bread or pie. Russia weeps with bloody tears and prays for stopping this disgrace of lawlessness. Merciful Holy Virgin makes such miracles and omens that we shall regain our consciousness earlier or later and shall come to our senses."

The TRUD newspaper carries an article by chairman of the Interdepartmental Commission of the Russian Security Council on ecological security, dealing with the demographic situation in Russia.

"According to the latest forecasts," he writes, "some stabilisation of birth-rate is expected in the country, mostly thanks to an increase in women of child-bearing age.

"The demographic situation in Russia as a whole, that is the future of the nation, largely depends on whether the average family will withstand this difficult time.

"If to speak honestly about the tragic statistics, the conclusion is quite definite: Russia is ill, and the state of its population's health already threatens the security of the country."

Major-General Gennadiy Zaytsev, head of the Alfa group of the chief security department, describes the struggle against terrorists in the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper.

"Guided by an analysis of the present situation, we can draw the conclusion that it is highly improbable that the level of terrorism will drop in the near future. On the contrary, we may encouter even its more audacious manifestations.

"To prevent them, it is necessary to create a streamlined system of terrorism control at the state level. Besides, this work should be directed from a single centre. In that case, cooperation of various organisations participating in such measures could be more close and fruitful," Zaytsev stressed.

Moscow Summit Between Yeltsin, Clinton Previewed

LD0201171494 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1643 GMT 2 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Moscow January 2 TASS—Deputy Russian Foreign Minister Georgiy Mamedov left for Washington, DC, today to coordinate a program of the Russian-U.S. summit to start in ten days in Moscow.

It is not accidental 1994 starts with a state visit of the U.S. President to Moscow. Both sides have always considered their bilateral relations a priority of their foreign political concepts. Comprehensive trade and economic cooperation with the U.S. is especially important for Russia at a period of profound changes.

Moscow's consistent course at cooperation and partnership with Washington is obvious; claims of some mass media bodies that Russia no longer considers its relations with the U.S. to be a priority are unjustified.

The U.S. partners will, certainly, be interested in the recent political events in Russia, primarily the results of parliament elections. The world was somewhat alarmed with these results although they should hardly be exaggerated or dramatized.

The U.S. delegation headed by Bill Clinton will study the situation on the spot and get acquainted with the essence of the reform policy carried out by the Yeltsin team. In the words of Bill Clinton, he is a staunch supporter of Boris Yeltsin. The visit will help them to understand Russian society has much work to do.

The recent personnel changes in the U.S. Administration, primarily the appointment of First Undersecretary of State and Coordinator of the U.S. Policy on Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States Strobe Talbott, testifies to the enhancement of the "Russian factor" in the U.S. foreign policy.

The Russian diplomatic community has estimated these changes as very positive. "Washington promotes people who have imagination," believes a high-ranking Russian diplomat. In his opinion, Moscow will take adequate steps after the summit.

The Moscow summit will also focus on security, cooperation in arms control and non-proliferation of nuclear arms and key international issues, including settlement of regional conflicts.

It is expected to be extremely saturated and elaborate a program of partnership and interaction for the rest of the 20th-early 21st century.

Cosmonaut Questions Benefits of Space Accord With U.S.

PM3012164193 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Dec 93 p 2

[Interview with cosmonaut Valeriy Baberdin by Sergey Turchenko; place and date not given: "Unemployment in the Skies"]

[Text] Our country has always been a great space power. No one can, or ever will, dispute its pioneering role in space. Admittedly, this applies to the "accursed communist past." The blessed "democratic" present has relegated the state to the backwaters of space research. The year now ending—the year of the triumph of Yeltsinism—has been particularly dreadful in this respect. State programs for the development of cosmonautics have totally withered away. The "Energiya" Science and Production Association, that major achievement of contemporary civilization, is on the verge of bankruptcy. There is unemployment among cosmonauts. The end of the year has brought a further extremely cruel blow directed against the 21st century: the signing by U.S. Vice President Gore and Chernomyrdin of what is for Russia a shackling agreement on creating a joint orbital station that will be the biggest ever. This was the subject with which we kicked off our conversation with cosmonaut and researcher Colonel Valeriy Vasilyevich Baberdin.

[Baberdin] If you look no further ahead than today, the agreement seems to be to Russia's advantage. The economy is in such a plight that the state is unable to properly subsidize the space industry. Our superhigh-technology production units are coming to a standstill or are on the verge of shutting down, and tens of thousands of highly professional specialists are threatened with unemployment. And now the Americans are offering $400 million to build the "Alpha" orbital station, as they call it. This may breathe life into our space complex for a while. But the question is the price we will pay for this temporary revival. Let us try to weigh up everything.

The development of cosmonautics in the USSR and the United States took different routes. The Americans got carried away with the shuttle and did not develop orbital stations. Now they have realized how necessary these are for research activity. They have calculated, pondered, and reflected: It is too expensive to start from scratch, it is considerably cheaper to utilize Soviet experience and potential, which are now available to them.

First, America does not have the technology for constructing stations in orbit. Only we have it. Second, the Americans have not developed sufficiently cheap and at the same time efficient carrier rockets to take the components and modules of a station into orbit. We still have the world's best fleet of such rockets. Third, they have no methods for training cosmonauts for long stints in an orbital station. Their missions last two weeks, ours last six months, a year, or even more. All these unique technologies and methods will go to them as a free gift together with the station we have contracted to build.

[Turchenko] But "Alpha" is intended as a joint venture, so we too will use the station....

[Baberdin] I'm afraid there's a lot of eyewash here, just as there is with the numerous commercial joint ventures that have proliferated in Russia. It's not a matter of my own misgivings. Many specialists in Zvezdnyy [Gorodok] and the "Energiya" Science and Production Association are voicing serious fears in this regard. I received confirmation of them the other day from a conversation with a U.S. TV journalist specializing in space topics. He was frank. The United States is telling taxpayers: Look, Gore managed to reach agreement with Chernomyrdin and we have saved a lot of money. In the long term control of "Alpha" will be transferred to Houston, and missions to it will mostly be flown by shuttles on U.S. programs.

[Turchenko] So do we risk entering the 21st century with our main flight control center in Houston and an auxiliary one in Kaliningrad outside Moscow?

[Baberdin] It is even possible our center may become merely a museum, like the Cosmonaut Training Center. According to this project of the century, which will take practically all our space resources, Houston will also train our payload specialists, as the Americans call them. The point is that in the shuttle there is an upper deck housing the crew and a lower deck for the "passengers"—the payload specialists who are being taken to work at the station. I am afraid we may all find ourselves on the lower deck of the U.S. craft in both the literal and metaphorical senses.

[Turchenko] Well, we are going to pay all too high a price for these $400 million. Incidentally, the figure is noteworthy. That is precisely the size of the contract that was being readied with India for the sale of carrier rocket technologies. But the Americans twisted our government's arm and forced it to abandon this contract.

[Baberdin] Correct. From that same conversation with an American TV journalist I learned that the United States is using "Alpha" to harness us to it mainly in order to prevent the spread of space technology. Obviously we lost nothing as a result of the Indian option, we merely gained, including that same sum of 400 million, whereas now.... There is also something else that is clear to me as a cosmonaut awaiting his turn for a mission: The "Alpha" project promises even more persistent unemployment among Russian cosmonauts.

[Turchenko] To what extent is that a factor at present?

[Baberdin] I cannot give precise figures, but I can offer a broad estimate. At present among cosmonauts alone there are around 15-16 people awaiting their turn for a mission. But there are also sizable reserve groups of specialists who have completed the training course. I will mention just a few. A detachment of women cosmonauts was once created on the basis of the Institute of Medical and Biological Problems. The intention was to put an "all-female crew" into space. Economic problems made all this a remote prospect. A group of young scientists underwent training for research work in space. They too are no longer wanted. The military department designed its own "Almaz" orbital station. A subunit of military engineers was trained to work on it. Just a handful of them went into space; the rest had no luck. There are doctors in a similar position. The Test Flight Institute picked a subunit made up of the best test pilots and trained them for two years on "Buran" and...a halt has now been called. So just estimate how many space unemployed we have, so to speak. At the same time we have been forced to sell places in craft and the orbital station to foreign cosmonauts.

[Turchenko] But Russia at least has access to the results of their research?

[Baberdin] No. All materials are stored on diskette and our foreign colleagues take the experimental data with them. The only plus is that they usually leave us the research apparatus they have used in token of gratitude. Moreover, in preparing this apparatus for missions, our specialists acquire skills in using it.

[Turchenko] The year 1993 is drawing to its end.... Our country always used to proudly sum up the results of the space year, which were usually truly impressive. What about nowadays?

[Baberdin] There is a certain amount of momentum from past achievements and successes. As is well known, for several months know Vasiliy Tsibliyev and Aleksandr Serebrov have been working selflessly in orbit. But this year there was an incident that could not have happened before. Viktor Afanasyev, Yuriy Usachev, and Valeriy Polyakov were supposed to go up to the "Mir" station back in the fall. But the carrier rocket was not ready. The "Progress" plant had made the casing, but the engines.... The Samara Engine Plant had ceased producing them because it was on the verge of bankruptcy, like "Progress," incidentally. Now they have found in store Russian State Committee for Hydrometeorology carrier rockets designed to launch "Meteor" satellites. Attempts are being made to adapt one of them for a manned craft. But it is capable of placing only a two-man crew in orbit. We have been forced to postpone the mission until 1994. A search for a solution to the problem is now under way.

[Turchenko] Yes, this is indeed a new chapter in our cosmonautics. What are your forecasts for the future?

[Baberdin] Until we grow a little wiser, we will build a station in order to develop American space travel. Such is the lot of a state that has suddenly decided to kiss goodbye to its own great history and to the status of a world space power and is voluntarily following in the wake of foreign interests.

Zhirinovskiy Views Germany's Visa Refusal

LD0201130794 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0557 GMT 2 Jan 94

[Interview with Liberal Democratic Party leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy by unidentified correspondent in an office setting; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Astrologer Pavel Globa] I am stating this with full responsibility, 1994 will be worse than 1993. It will be worse, much worse. Civil war is the only thing we will not have. There will be no dictatorship. Everyone is bracing themselves for a dictatorship, claiming that Zhirinovskiy will come to power now and there will be a dictatorship. No, he will not come to power, do you understand this? Zhirinovskiy will not rule, there will be a coalition. In the future, strange as it may sound, this coalition will acquire a civilized form. In 1995, I do not see Zhirinovskiy having such a huge effect on politics any more.

[Unidentified correspondent] Will Pavel Globa's forecast regarding Vladimir Zhirinovskiy come true? We will see. Some of his predictions are already coming true, as it appears. The year of 1993, which had apparently brought Vladimir Volfovich Zhirinovskiy a triumphant election victory, prepared for him some unpleasant surprises as well. Zhirinovskiy's foreign tour was not exactly strewn with roses. The Bulgarian authorities, in simple terms, forced the leader of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party [LDP] out of the country, and the German Government straightforwardly refused him a visa. [Video shows Zhirinovskiy speaking to an unidentified correspondent in an office sitting under an emblem showing an eagle holding in his beak a banner with the slogan: Freedom, LDP, Law, and hovering, in burning sun rays, above a big white schematic map that includes Alaska, all of the former Soviet Union, Finland, and extending some way westward into Europe, with Russia written on it in capital letters]

[Zhirinovskiy] This is normal political life—politics do not exist without it. To grant a visa or not to grant a visa, to welcome or not to welcome. It all depends on who has arrived in the country. All Bulgarians are unhappy with their life, and in me they have seen the opportunity of another president appearing in Bulgaria, of a new political leadership. This provoked hatred and anger from the local political elite who are in power in Bulgaria today—these werewolves, chameleons, former communists like Zhelu Zhelev and his team.

[Unidentified correspondent] What about Germany? In principle, is the refusal to grant a visa connected with Bulgaria in any way?

[Zhirinovskiy] Yes, it is all connected. When Germans saw the Bulgarian people warming up to me in such a way—thousands of people chanting Russia, Russia—they were afraid that if I cross the border into Germany, I will agitate German public opinion in favor of other forces, not those who are in power in Germany. They had already refused me a visa in September, so this is not the first time.

They refused me a visa in September when I was going to a convention of the German People's Union, so I picketed the German consulate. Two hours later, the consul phones me here and says: God forbid, Vladimir Volfovich, please remove the pickets, we are issuing your visas. So the visas were issued and I went there. Same thing now: The collegium of Germany's Foreign Ministry is having a meeting to figure out what to do. We have refused him, right, but what if he becomes president in the spring? Relations between Russia and Germany will be much worse. Germany is in a state as it is, with Turks and other problems. That is politics for you.

I was in Europe, and what a shame. All the brothels are full of Russian women. What have we brought up our daughters for? All brothels, bars, night clubs and discos—anywhere where one jumps into bed for shillings, francs, or marks—Russian girls are there. This is a shame!

[Unidentified correspondent] But here in Moscow as well...

[Zhirinovskiy interrupting] I agree, but that is in our motherland. At least the girl will come back home after work. Over there, a girl works as if in a zoo. They come to the zoo to watch, let us say, a lion or a kangaroo. Same here: She is sitting there, half naked, and turns over 50 clients a day. That is different: It is one thing to go to bed here, once a week, if one is short of money for a dress, for instance, and another thing to work day in, day out. An Austrian, or a German or French girl will not work every day. There are Thais, Filipinos, Argentinians—and Russians. Rich, isn't it? This is a monstrous, revolting thing—in two and a half years, to turn the country into a dustbin, into a latrine—and to push the young ones into prostitution. It is time to smash all this as quickly as we can.

Economic Cooperation Protocol Signed With Turkey

LD3012153293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1505 GMT 30 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Feoktistov]

[Text] Ankara December 30 TASS—A protocol on economic cooperation between Turkey and Russia was signed here on Thursday [30 December]. The document envisages cooperation in the power industry, transport, communications, construction, and new technologies. As regards the expansion of contacts, much importance is being attached to the private sector.

During the talks in Ankara, the two sides considered the state of affairs not only in traditional areas of cooperation but in new ones as well. These include satellite communication systems, advanced technologies, and

defence industry conversion, Valeriy Mikhailov, Russian first deputy minister of economics, who leads a Russian delegation, told ITAR-TASS.

In future, it is essential to develop cooperation at the level of Turkish and Russian firms and in third countries, Mikhailov emphasised.

Moscow's Security Concerns in Arab East Viewed

PM3112114193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 30 Dec 93 p 7

[Ravil Mustafin article under "Opinion" rubric: "The Arab East: Compass of Security"]

[Text] The visit to Moscow by Kuwaiti Defense Minister Shaykh 'Ali al-Sabah, the signing of the intergovernmental agreement on cooperation in the military sphere, and the subsequent exercise by ships of the two countries in the Persian Gulf have elicited lively comments both in the East (the Arab East, above all) and in the West.

The first thing they noticed was that Russia is striving for a colossal arms market. Kuwait, which intends to spend approximately $12 billion over 10 years on acquiring weapons, really does represent a highly favorable trading partner. Well, it would be the height of hypocrisy to deny that Russia is motivated exclusively by altruism [sentence as published]. The Arab East is of definite interest to us also from the viewpoint of replenishing our more than meager currency reserves. Particularly since it seems that we will not receive any palpable aid from the West. The fears of the United States, Britain, and France, which have taken up key positions on the arms markets, about a possible Russian breakthrough into this territory are indeed understandable.

It seems to me that the chief th[illegible]s not only and not so much the financial opportun[illegible]hich the arms trade promises as the fact that R[illegible]s at last starting to aspire to (or, at any rate, is mak[illegible]g a serious bid for) the role of one of the guarantors of the security system in a very difficult region of the globe. At the same time, Russia is also taking care of its own interests. If only because of our geographic proximity to the southern borders of the CIS, there exists a real danger of the spread, or "overflowing," of instability across our borders. To be more precise, the simple configuration of the potentials for conflict in the Caucasus (the "Caucasian knot") and in the Persian Gulf region could produce a totally different quality of confrontation in this segment of the "arc of crises."

Moscow has a vital interest in preserving peace and stability in this region also because the Gulf zone is the source of such terrible dangers as narcotics trafficking, an uncontrolled arms trade, and so-called extraterritorial threats. Finally, some states are drawing up ambitious plans to create weapons of mass destruction. Their possible use close to the borders of Russia and the CIS is fraught with very unpredictable consequences. Moreover, from the military viewpoint the presence of unfriendly forces in the region could in time become a lever to exert pressure on our country.

In our view Saudi Arabia can be the main link in the system of security in the Persian Gulf region. Whereas prior to the war in the Persian Gulf the balance of power here was maintained chiefly thanks to the Iranian-Iraqi standoff, now there is hidden, indistinct rivalry between Iran and Saudi Arabia. The Saudis, who for a long time preferred to act exclusively by peaceful means, have decided to try independently to create armed forces capable of responding to any regional challenge to their security.

The bitter experience of proximity to such dangerous countries as Iraq and, to some extent, Iran has made Riyadh make substantial corrections to its defense concept. In practice this has resulted in huge military purchases thanks to which Riyadh has become the world's biggest arms importer. It accounts for more than one-third of all the arms supplied to the third world.

The Saudis should not, however, be condemned for overmilitarization. They have something to defend and the right to defend it. Particularly as the arms being acquired and the building of the army are aimed not at expansion (the Saudis have no need of other people's property—they have more than enough of their own) but defense. Once bitten, twice shy.

Of course, the growth in the strength of the Saudi Army's armed forces is limited by the country's total human resources, which are comparable with Iraq's but considerably inferior to Iran's. In addition, Saudi generals have no experience of waging combat operations. In practical terms, the army has not come under fire. It will take many years to create really battleworthy armed forces. No wonder, in this connection, that the Saudis' defensive concept is geared above all to support from the U.S. armed forces.

Of course, Riyadh's close ties with Washington determine a certain regional preponderance of forces in favor of the United States. Therefore Russia's more active—to one degree or another—participation in the regional security system would meet Moscow's interests. But this is not the only reason. Riyadh, being the official custodian of the chief Islamic holy places in Mecca and Medina, is opposed to religious extremism in politics. Possessing indisputable authority in the world of Islam, it could also play a more active role in settling local conflicts on CIS territory, particularly in the so-called new Muslim states.

I believe that these arguments will suffice to acknowledge Russia's right to be concerned about peace and security in the Arab East.

Official Says Key to Bosnia Settlement Lies in Belgrade

LD0301105994 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0950 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] The key to reaching a settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina lies in Belgrade. That is why Russia's Western partners, such as European Union members, refuse to support Moscow's call for suspending and subsequently lifting sanctions against Yugoslavia, a high-ranking official from the Russian Foreign Ministry told Interfax.

Russia works on the assumption, he said, that after the signing of an agreement on settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina sanctions should be suspended and gradually lifted as the agreement begins to be implemented. "Unfortunately, such an agreement failed to be signed at the Geneva round of talks attended by spokesmen for all the warring sides—Serbs, Muslims and Croats—and by the foreign ministers of European Community countries. The reason for this was the dispute over territories between Bosnian Serbs and Muslims," the diplomat said.

As a result Bosnian Serbs are losing in tactical terms. Western analysts see in their actions, not without grounds, elements of the plan to form "Greater Serbia," that is join the Serb-populated areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina to Yugoslavia."

According to Interfax's interviewee, a clear stand taken by Belgrade could put an end to fears felt by the West and draw the lifting of sanctions nearer. "It's obvious that the pressure Belgrade could exert on Bosnian Serbs with a view to signing a peace agreement as soon as possible would draw nearer not only an end to the bloodshed in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also the lifting of sanctions against Belgrade and Yugoslavia's return to the world community," he said.

Diplomat Views Relations With Macedonia

AU3012193093 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 30 Dec 93 p 2

[Interview with Jurij Trushin, representative of the Russian Federation in Macedonia, by Moscow correspondent Mirce Adamcevski; place and date not given: "Macedonian Policy—the Future in the Balkans"]

[Text] Moscow, December—The Russian Federation has recently appointed Jurij Petrovich Trushin [name as published] as its permanent representative to the Republic of Macedonia. He is a professional diplomat, involved in the Balkans for 20 years. His dissertation was on the Balkans, and he has also written a number of scientific works related to this region. He has spent more than 10 years working in the diplomatic service in Bulgaria. This year, he has been engaged in the global problems of that part of Europe. He has been professionally and scientifically linked to the Balkans for more than 20 years.

[Adamcevski] Mister Trushin, how do you view your appointment to the post of permanent representative of the Russian Federation in Macedonia?

[Trushin] This appointment to Macedonia is a great honor for me. The Macedonian people are few in number, but have a deep and old culture, and if we look at the history of the Balkans, it cannot be disassociated from Macedonia. Moreover, our two peoples are closely connected through close blood, religious, and historic links. As you know, Russia was christened (it accepted Christianity) and became a Christian country through the great merit of the Ohrid Exarchate. We know that Kiev Russia had strong relations with Ohrid. There are numerous other examples in history when the two countries and peoples had active cooperation. From that aspect, it is a great honor and duty for me to be appointed to Macedonia. I say great duty because, unfortunately, the history of the Macedonian people was carried on in such a way that many in Macedonia know a lot about Russia, but only a few in Russia know about Macedonia. That will be one of my basic goals, to get to know that country better and to bring the truth about that people to the brotherly Russian people.

[Adamcevski] You have now touched the next question. What other aims will be basic to your activities?

[Trushin] I have already mentioned them: The intensification of the traditional friendship and cooperation between our two peoples. The second goal is to get to know the history and culture of that people, to study the present situation, and to inform my leadership, my government, my people. One of the most important goals of my stay in Macedonia, as a representative of the Russian Federation, will be to make our people, our country, realize the guarantee of stability and independence of the Macedonian people. The policy conducted by Russia in Macedonia should contribute to stability and peace in that country. In brief, these will be the goals during my stay in Macedonia.

[Adamcevski] What is your opinion of the present situation in Macedonia within the framework of the Balkans?

[Trushin] I think that the policy led by President Kiro Gligorov, who enjoys great respect in our country, and this has been confirmed during the numerous discussions and meetings I have had with my leadership, is the best policy, because his policy is directed toward good neighboring relations with the neighboring countries. That is an example of how the future policy in the Balkans should be, despite the fact that this is the time when Macedonia is surrounded by furious passions, wars, and interethnic disputes. Thanks to its leadership, thanks to the fact that the Macedonians are a very peaceful people, of good intentions, it can be said that Macedonia has succeeded in being the only states of former Yugoslavia to have avoided those events. Here, I think that this policy of peace, good neighboring relations, and cooperation with the neighbors, in my

opinion, is the main orientation in the policy of Macedonia. On that plan, Macedonia will always have support from Russia, from our government, and leadership.

[Adamcevski] Can you tell us about your views on the future development of the situation in Macedonia?

[Trushin] It is ungrateful to forecast policy. However, the way it seems to me, the fact we are now witnessing a broad process of recognition of Macedonia by the European countries, by the world, proves a full recognition of the peaceful policy of Macedonia. My opinion is that the line of international recognition of Macedonia, neglecting the known difficulties, represents a chance for Macedonian perspectives, for overcoming those difficulties, for it becoming a full and equal member of the world's community on its road to civilized development.

[Adamcevski] What will be your role and the role of the Russian Federation in that direction?

[Trushin] If we reduce all that to Russian-Macedonian relations, I would like to mention that Russia was the first of the superpowers to recognize Macedonia. It recognized its independence on 4 August last year, by the act of our President Boris Yeltsin. Then our Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev paid a visit to Macedonia, followed by his deputy Vitaliy Churkin. In implementing the act of President Yeltsin, official inter-state relations were established between the two countries and respective representatives were appointed. My leadership has entrusted me with the task of going to the spot and learning about the situation in Macedonia, and then I am expected to submit adequate proposals to our leadership and government in compliance with the development of the situation.

[Adamcevski] What is your opinion of the presence of the UN forces in Macedonia?

[Trushin] Our line in that direction is clear and consistent. If those forces contribute to the development of stability and the reinforcement of peace in Macedonia, to its economic growth and security, we can then welcome such a presence.

[Adamcevski] However, some Russian media said that Russia had abandoned the Balkans, asking about the reason for the presence of the Americans there, that is in Macedonia.

[Trushin] First of all, we look at the presence of the Americans within the framework of the UN forces. On the other hand, I think that such an aspect appears as a remnant of the ideological concept of the division of the world between the two superpowers. Now, we are developing a Russian policy on the indispensable Partnership for Peace, for which we meet understanding in the Western world. Therefore, any actions, Russian, U.S., or some other countries', must contribute to the reinforcement of stability, of good neighborliness. The ideological remnants must be excluded from these actions, as well as the confrontations and the division of the world between two systems. That is why we consider that our role, I would say, in assisting Macedonia, will mean a continuation in the direction followed hitherto. If the U.S. policy leads to stability and development in Macedonia, we shall welcome it and we shall cooperate with the Americans.

[Adamcevski] You know that a great part of the Macedonian foreign trade exchange was linked to the USSR, that is Russia. What will you do, now that the exchange has been lowered, to promote this situation?

[Trushin] With the breaking up of the USSR and Yugoslavia, the traditional trade relations have been remarkably weakened. It does not affect only the former republics of the USSR and Yugoslavia, because it is a larger process. Let me note that Macedonia was the only one of the former Yugoslav republics that imported more than it exported to the USSR. This is a very significant detail. Our analyses show that there are possibilities for increasing Macedonian exports to Russia. Our side is pleased to show great interest in textiles and small industry. Our large market is interested in tobacco, in shoes, and in many other products bought in Macedonia. There is a mutual interest with the Macedonians, too. Now that the economy is being restructured, it is very important to start direct links and contacts between the respective companies. In that framework, I view my mission in Macedonia as a possibility for promoting economic cooperation to a higher level. It will be a great contribution if Russia helps Macedonia get back on its feet. That is extremely valuable. For that purpose it was decided, right after my appointment, to also appoint an economic counselor to Macedonia. It demonstrates that we have put the issue of foreign trade relations in the first place.

[Adamcevski] Would you like to add something I have failed to ask about?

[Trushin] I would like to say that the characteristic of my mission is that, compared to representatives and ambassadors appointed to, so to say, "worked out" countries, I am starting an unusual mission in that aspect. Unfortunately, that was due to history itself, therefore there are no experts on the Macedonian language, on the Macedonian history, and so on. Therefore, in addition to my everyday obligations, I shall be also learning the language, the country.... In that perspective, my contacts with Macedonian historians, linguists, and people of culture, will play a great role for me. On that plan, we must use the links among the scientists of the two countries, as well as the existing potentials. There are such ideas now. When it became clear I was going to Macedonia, I was visited by some representatives of the intelligentsia, the mass media, some scientists, and they came out with the idea of opening a Russian House in Macedonia, which would be the only one in the Balkans. Therefore, it would be a Russian House accumulating the spiritual wealth of the Russian people, which we would generously share with our brothers, the Macedonian people. This idea has already been accepted by Macedonia. I have already had meetings with your

eminent writers and artists. The government circles have also accepted it with pleasure and approval. It will be the first step in introducing the two peoples that have traditional and cultural links. There are also other ideas, but this is the first major one, and I, as the first representative of the Russian Federation, would like to realize it. I think it will also be well accepted by the neighboring countries. I think they will have an understanding for that, so that we can expand the cooperation.

And finally, I would like to wish the Macedonian brotherly people success in overcoming the present difficulties and in making Macedonia a flourishing state in the family of civilized nations.

[Article contains following boxed passage on page 2]

Promptness for Better Mutual Cooperation

Yesterday, President of the Republic of Macedonia Kiro Gligorov received a protocol visit of the official representative of the Russian Federation in our country, Jurij Petrovich Trushin.

The Russian representative conveyed to President Gligorov the cordial greetings and new year's wishes of President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin and the Russian leadership, emphasizing their readiness to promote further relations and cooperation with Macedonia in the interest of the two nations and countries, for peace and stability in the region.

President Gligorov expressed his gratitude and returned the greetings and wishes, emphasizing that Macedonia is following with great attention and pleasure the efforts of President Yeltsin and the Russian leadership to further democracy in Russian society and peace in the world. Gligorov also talked about the possibilities for, and interest in, an ample cooperation in all fields of mutual interest, based on the historical links between the two countries and on the democratic developments in both countries.

President Gligorov welcomed the opening of the Office of the Russian Federation in Macedonia and expressed his hopes that it would soon grow into an embassy.

Discussions were also held on the current issues regarding Macedonian-Russian relations, on the situation in both the countries, as well as on the situation in the Balkans. This was stated by the Cabinet of the president of the Republic of Macedonia.

Article Views Peacekeeping Role, Efforts

PM3112122593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 30 Dec 93 p 7

[Aleksandr Nikolayev article: "Russia's Peacemaking Role. What Will It Be?"]

[Text] At the Rome session of CSCE Foreign Ministers Council, the Russian delegation raised the question of giving a legitimate status within the CSCE framework to the peacemaking efforts of the Russian Federation and the CIS. While recognizing the existence of the real threat to international security emanating from the interethnic conflicts which are erupting in the former USSR and giving de facto approval to the actions of the Russian Federation, the Council of Ministers was nevertheless reluctant to give its forces the status of CSCE "blue helmets."

The Russian side's argument did not meet with understanding from a whole series of delegations, first and foremost Ukraine, a number of East European countries, Canada, and Norway. At the session, the opponents of the legitimation in international law of the actions of the Russian Federation's peacemaking forces raised the hypothesis of the revival of Russian "neoimperialism" and accused Russia of trying in this way to mask its true intentions with regard to the new division of the Eurasian continent.

It goes without saying that Russia, like any great power, has zones of traditional geopolitical interests and regions to which it gives paramount attention. Our approach in this regard is dictated not by an imperial ideology but by perfectly understandable pragmatic considerations. It is obvious that the creation in Russia of a successfully functioning market economy mechanism is impossible without ensuring that market's normal interaction. Russia's prime interest is in a normalization of the situation in the neighboring former Union republics not only in a military sense but also economically. It was considerations such as those which has motivated Russia's diplomatic efforts in New York, Rome, Brussels, and at other international forums where it formulated practical steps on peacemaking questions.

The charges of neoimperialism are groundless even if only because Moscow, by bearing on its shoulders the full burden of peacemaking in the post-Soviet area, is certainly not seeking to operate in isolation. On the contrary, collective actions are no less necessary in Nagorno-Karabakh, for example, than they are in Yugoslavia. Russia operates in the "hot spots" not only in its own interests but also in the interests of the whole world community. That was confirmed at the 48th UN General Assembly [UNGA] session and formed the main theme of the decisions of the CSCE Foreign Ministers' Council.

It is obvious now that there are no alternatives to increasing and strengthening Russia's peacemaking efforts in the area of the former USSR. For Russia, the question is not whether to engage in those activities or not. The question is how to make those efforts more effective by utilizing UN experience in regional conflicts and elaborating joint positions with the CSCE. Incidentally, the latter need was tacitly recognized by the participants in the Rome forum when they acknowledged the CSCE's failure to convene a peace conference on Nagorno-Karabakh.

Russia's peacemaking forces can offer evidence of the considerable, albeit not absolute, success of its actions in

the Dniester region, Tajikistan, Ingushetia, and other regions. The creation and strengthening of Russia's peacemaking structures is being effected with the participation of the supreme councils of the CIS member countries. Incidentally, the CIS countries' joint peacemaking actions are carried out both on the basis of bilateral and multilateral interim accords and of the recently adopted "Agreement on the Groups of Military Observers and Collective Forces for the Maintenance of Peace in the CIS."

Our peacemaking efforts also have an enormous "humanitarian" advantage. Russians know best the specifics of the political situation, are able to understand the genesis and dynamics of a conflict, and are ready to effectively promote the long-term stabilization of the situation.

Russia, furthermore, is acquiring its own unique "fire-fighting" experience. For example, as distinct from the existing rules of the CSCE, it is becoming the practice here to enlist the opposing sides' forces in operations, and for our armed contingents to use military force, although it must be said not for the purpose of crushing the opposing sides in a conflict but for self-defense.

This of course does not mean that Moscow is trying in some way to crowd out potential foreign peacemakers. On the contrary, the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry memorandum on enhancing the CSCE's effectiveness in the peacemaking sphere proposes preparing and concluding a treaty on the principles of planning and implementing the kind of operations which would envisage the formation of a joint paramilitary rapid reaction corps and would create a common material base for operations.

While expressing full gratitude to the CSCE observers working in the conflict zones in Ossetia, the Dniester region, and Abkhazia it has to be acknowledged that the existing CSCE structures, geared as they are to the prevention of conflicts and the maintenance of peace by means of preventive diplomacy, cannot always give an adequate and rapid response to the challenges of the present day. The search for the optimum combination of the efforts of the CSCE and Russia, the elaboration of the status of operations, and giving material expression to that status will all take considerable time. Unfortunately, that is what we do not have. That is why at the 48th UNGA Session and the Rome session Moscow's delegation raised with particular persistence the question of giving priority to easing the financial burden which the Russian Federation is bearing in connection with the implementation of peacemaking actions.

Clearly it has to be realized that in the specific post-Soviet area purely Russian peacemaking actions cannot be replaced by international financial support, no matter how extensive it may be, or by the participation of any group of countries in them. That view, it seems, is meeting with a certain understanding among the leading Western countries.

Karabakh Peace Efforts, Azerbaijani Moves Assessed

PM3012165393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Leonid Mlechin: "Azerbaijanis Attack All Along the Front with the Aid of the Mojahedin and Put Moscow in a Difficult Position"]

[Text] Almost immediately after the New Year Russian diplomats will resume their peacemaking efforts in Nagorno-Karabakh, without particular hope of success, it is true.

For several days now the Azerbaijani troops have been attacking all along the Karabakh front line. In the north they have managed to advance some way. Both sides are suffering heavy losses.

The Azerbaijan army needs if not a real military success then at least the semblance of success. It is not clear what the ultimate goal is—to reinforce their positions at the talks or on the contrary to wreck these talks?

The Russian diplomats are saddened by Baku's decision to start an offensive. The signing of the latest cease-fire agreement has been thwarted. All details had been agreed verbally but at the last moment the Azerbaijanis refused to sign the document.

It may be expected that in the very near future the Karabakh Armenians will try to seize the initiative and switch to a counteroffensive as a result of which some part of Azerbaijani territory will again be occupied. That will worsen the prospects of attaining peace.

Envoy Vladimir Kazimirov, the Russian president's special representative, is again setting off for Baku, Yerevan, and Stepanakert. It has been decided to turn the page on the incident of the Armenian soldiers' shooting of his automobile in the Nagorno-Karabakh region. During the talk in Ashgabat between Boris Yeltsin and Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan, the Russian president, we have found out, "talked through gritted teeth" and something in the nature of an apology was made. At any rate Minister Kozyrev has decided to interpret Ter-Petrosyan's words as an apology.

The Russian diplomats will insist that the leaders of the opposing sides come to Moscow—here, outside the meetings environment, they are usually easier to convince.

Meanwhile the situation is obviously deteriorating. Only a month ago Academician Primakov, director of the Foreign Intelligence Service, was speaking of the activation of the Afghan mojahedin in this war. But he noted at the time that the reports at the intelligence service's disposal "attest to intentions more than to facts of participation right now." According to recent information from Moscow experts, 1,500 Afghan mojahedin are taking part in the war on the Azerbaijan army's side and there will soon be more.

The Armenians also suspect that Turkey is taking part in the conflict. In early December IZVESTIYA's Yerevan correspondent, Sergey Bablumyan, reported that the Dashnaktsutyun party analytical center, citing the French special services, was warning that in mid-December Turkey was preparing a missile strike against Armenia's energy centers. The pretext was the presence on Armenian territory of bases of the Kurdish Workers Party, which is struggling against Turkey and Turks throughout the world.

The Dashnaktsutyun party's statement is most likely propaganda. Any military action against Armenia would put into operation the treaty on the CIS countries' collective security; that is it would pit Turkey against Russia. Turkish servicemen take no part in combat operations on the "Karabakh front," although it is known that they are engaging in the Azerbaijan army's combat training. Since Azerbaijan's accession to the CIS countries' collective security treaty, the appearance of foreign servicemen on its territory looks quite dubious.

As for the bases of the Kurdish rebels, the Russian Foreign Ministry knows only that this information has appeared in the Turkish newspapers, which of itself is not proof. Representatives of the Russian intelligence service unofficially doubt there are such bases, but officially they cite the absence of a mandate allowing them to work on the territory of the CIS countries.

The ally relations of the North American and West European countries within NATO do not prevent them—thoroughly and while observing the proprieties—from spying on each other. It would be logical to give Russian intelligence similar powers. The political and military leadership in Moscow is quite obviously in need of information, including that obtained promptly. And the intelligence assessments of the situation in republics neighboring on Russia should be made public in the most general form. The taxpayers have the right to know what is happening around Russia and to have the opportunity to judge competently how far Moscow's peacemaking efforts accord with the gravity of the situation in the conflict zone.

Navy Official Views Ukrainian Moves on Black Sea Fleet

PM3012134193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Dec 93 p 1

[Aleksandr Khokhlov report: "What Moscow Thinks About This"]

[Text] We asked Admiral Igor Kasatonov, first deputy commander in chief of the Russian Navy, to comment on the latest events concerning the Black Sea Fleet's property.

"Unfortunately, neither the strategy nor the tactics of the Ukrainian military leadership are changing. Russia is being systematically squeezed from the Black Sea region. Now Kiev has waited for the Ashgabat agreements to be adopted and 'gone on the attack' on engineering establishments of the Black Sea Fleet.

"This action itself had no significance—either militarily or politically. The installations would have been voluntarily transferred to Ukraine by the Black Sea Fleet in January 1994. Someone in the Ukrainian military evidently wanted to assert his own personal importance and to prove his 'devotion' to the republic's political leadership.

"Russian sailors have no intention of 'taking' their installations back from the Ukrainian military. Let them use them. But I believe that these will 'count against' Ukraine when the new documents on the Black Sea Fleet are signed."

Ministry Spokesman Compares Landsbergis With Zhirinovskiy

LD0201171294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1531 GMT 2 Jan 94

[Text] Russia's Foreign Ministry is not inclined to "take seriously" numerous statements by the leader of Lithuania's parliamentary opposition, Vytautas Landsbergis. To argue with him is as pointless as with the leader of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. This is how a high-ranking Russian diplomat dealing with Baltic problems commented on Landsbergis's recent statements concerning relations with Russia.

Addressing a news conference in Vilnius recently, Landsbergis criticized the present Lithuanian leadership for its "policy of rapprochement with the East". According to him, the "aggressive nationalism of Russia, whose policy had been identical to that of Zhirinovskiy who only speaks more openly, revealed itself in full lately".

"Such escapades on the part of Landsbergis no longer surprise anyone," said Interfax's interviewee. "They have become so biased and subjective, that they can hardly be taken seriously even in Lithuania itself," he noted.

The interview with the Russian diplomat will be published in more detail in tomorrow's edition of Diplomatic Panorama.

Ambassadors View Relations With Baltic Countries

LD0201141094 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0830 GMT 2 Jan 94

[Text] Our commentator, Lidiya Padulina, suggests that we should touch upon a theme which is very topical at the present time—relations between Russia and the Baltic countries.

[Padulina] It is not a secret that Russian-Baltic dialogue is difficult. This is how ambassador (Vasiliy Svirin), the head of the Russian delegation, estimates negotiations with Estonia.

[Begin (Svirin) recording] It is difficult for me to speak about the prospects of the negotiating process in 1994 because I am a head of the state delegation of Russia at the

negotiations with the Republic of Estonia. The fact is that recently the Estonian side has been aiming to protract the negotiating process. Thus, a question is arising whether the Estonian delegation is going to stop the negotiations. We have the basis for such thoughts. On 17 November the Russian delegation made a proposal to hold the next round of negotiations in Moscow in the middle of December 1993. December is over but we have no answer despite our reminders. Thus, at the Russian-Estonian negotiations we have the same situation as at sport competitions: The ball is in the court of the Estonian team; we are waiting for its response. [end recording]

[Padulina] There is no such tension with Latvia as with Estonia. But there are the same issues at the agenda of negotiations. Ambassador (Aleksey Zotov) comments on them.

[Begin (Zotov) recording] The state delegation of Russia believes that the main issues of the negotiating process with Latvia are to complete the coordination of all documents which will determine the legal basis for the withdrawal of Russian troops. And the second series of problems is connected with the protection of rights of the Russian-speaking population. The Latvian leadership did not want to speak about this at our negotiations. They explained this by the fact that they did not have a law on the citizenship. Now this law has been introduced and is under discussion. We would like to hope that the fate of more than 1,000,000 Russian-speaking people who are permanent residents in this country will be decided according to the standards which Latvia has undertaken to respect when it joined the United Nations and the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe. [end recording]

[Padulina] As far as the most difficult question—the withdrawal of Russian troops—is concerned, we managed to reach agreement with Lithuania on this issue. Ambassador (Viktor Isakov) comments on the priorities in the Russian-Lithuanian relations now.

[Begin (Isakov) recording] I think that the negotiating process with the Lithuanian republic is going on normally. We have reached certain results. However, despite the signing of a trade and economic agreement with the Lithuanian Republic and an agreement on vehicle transport, our citizens and our organizations still have some difficulties in Kaliningrad when they cross Lithuanian territory. Because of this, the main problem will be to elaborate and sign an agreement on mutual visits and an agreement on transit which would replace provisional rules which exist now. We hope that the negotiations will be resumed in the near future. [end recording]

[Padulina] I spoke with these three Russian diplomats on telephone and asked them the same question: What do you expect in the new year? And I received rather different answers. As a whole they reflect the difficulties in relations between Russian and the Baltic countries. But all the same, I believe that the main reason is the accumulated estrangement and mistrust toward each other. Will we be able to have normal intergovernmental relations? In spite of everything the new year gives us such hopes.

10th Round of Fishing Talks Held With Japan

LD3012155293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1344 GMT 30 Dec 93

[Text] The Russian-Japanese fishing committee has discussed fishing in the economic zones of the two countries and fishing quotas. The 10th session of the committee was held in Moscow between December 16 and 29.

The Russian side, led by deputy chairman of the State Committee for Fishing Aleksandr Rodin and the director of Dalryba company Yuriy Moskaltsev were dissatisfied with fishing in Japan's zone because in the outgoing year Russia failed to catch the assigned quota. Among the causes of low efficiency they named the small size of areas given to Russia and the absence of steady fish resources there.

The two sides also exchanged information on the observation of fishing rules in 1993. Russian representatives said that the number of violations in the Russian 200 mile zone by Japanese fishing boats remains considerable: 59 in 1992 and 77 in the first 11 months of 1993.

The Japanese side promised to take tough measures to prevent the violation of fishing rules.

The two sides agreed to hold the next session of the commission in Japan in November 1994.

IMF's Foglizzo Views Russian Economic Reforms

PM3112131593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 30 Dec 93 p 6

[Interview with Jean Foglizzo, head of the IMF permanent mission in Russia, by unidentified ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI correspondent; place and date not given: "The IMF Does Not Have any 'Magic Figures'"]

[Excerpts] The IMF is not setting our country any conditions, it is merely demanding firm guarantees that the credits granted will be repaid. [passage omitted]

[Foglizzo] We help those countries which are experiencing difficulties in the sphere of foreign payments. On condition, of course, that their policy does not harm other states. Our job is to use money to the maximum advantage and enable a country to implement economic reforms on the one hand while, on the other hand, ensuring the repayment of the debt so that our depositors do not suffer a loss and have an opportunity to promptly invest their repaid resources in the economies of countries that need investment. This is the IMF's philosophy, these are the functions assigned to it by the world community.

We are adopting the same approach toward Russia. We need firm guarantees that the reforms here will continue

to develop. The government's program designed to run through the end of 1994 is now being implemented. It has been approved by the Council of Ministers Presidium and the prime minister. But how can we rely on that program when a detailed budget for next year has still not been prepared even now, at the end of December? In this case it is not a question of a tough stance by the IMF toward Russia but a desire to build our partnership on firmer foundations.

[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI] What credits has Russia already received from the IMF?

[Foglizzo] An accord was signed 5 August 1992, granting Russia a so-called reserve credit of $1 billion. This is the main form of credit which the IMF issues to its members for the support of economic programs. It was received in full by your country by December 1992. During this year Russia has received a further $1.5 billion from the IMF. This is aid within the framework of the recently created program of finance for systemic transformations. It envisages the granting of credits to those countries which are switching to a market economy. The maximum credit of this type is $3 billion. When the IMF granted Russia the first 1.5 billion, we expected that it would receive the remaining 1.5 billion by October or November— but that did not happen. In August the government was unable to adhere to the course of reforms agreed with and supported by us. There were many reasons for that. The main reason was the conflict between the president and the parliament which led to a destabilization of the situation.

[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI] Now this main reason has been removed. Does this mean that our country will soon receive the second part of the systemic credit?

[Foglizzo] That depends on the subsequent development of events. A program of urgent measures was elaborated this fall, designed to achieve financial stabilization. We approve it although perhaps not all of its details. Now the problem is to convince the other branches of power and the Russian people that there can be no solution to the crisis without such measures.

As I have already said, this year the government was unable to fully maintain the course of financial stabilization. Now the time has come to think about an action program for next year. I do not know what kind of program it will be. The IMF has no "magic figures"—no universal budget deficit or inflation rate ceilings. The main point is that there must be a firm and unwavering desire for reforms, stabilization of the economy, and radical reduction of the rate of inflation. [passage omitted]

[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI] Is the IMF currently holding talks with the Russian Government on further cooperation?

[Foglizzo] An IMF mission visited Moscow in the first half of December. Our specialists would like to come here again as soon as possible. But I do not think that there will be any serious negotiations until the question of the new parliament is finally resolved and the composition of the Russian Government is confirmed. We can hardly construct real plans for next year before 15 January.

U.S. President Clinton is due to arrive in Moscow soon. He will have talks with President Yeltsin. IMF Executive Director M. Camdessus has also been invited to Moscow. The IMF's subsequent activity in your country will depend on the results of this top-level meeting.

[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI] Clearly, work in Russia has brought the IMF more problems than it anticipated?

[Foglizzo] No, we are cooperating quite well with Russia. Of course this does not mean that all our efforts have been successful. But during this year we have come to understand the country better and have learned how various traditional mechanisms influence the economy. In your government we have found people who really understand the situation, who know what must be done, and who know how to explain the decisions that are made in a way that is accessible to the population. First and foremost this applies to Vice Premier and Finance Minister Boris Fedorov.

I think that Russia has changed enormously in the past year. Even the actual standard of the debates on economic questions is far higher now than it used to be. The privatization process is making quite successful and rapid progress. We are glad that the currency market has operated without interruption and that the rate of the ruble there has stabilized in the past six months. Markets in vouchers and other securities have been formed. This is an important factor for stabilization.

The structural reorganization of industry has begun. This, after all, is the key to a successful economic reform. Production is beginning to respond more flexibly to changes in the situation in the market.

New relations are developing between the government and the Central Bank. In May-June the IMF supported the agreement between them. Without that accord we could not have allocated the first $1.5 billion systemic credit to Russia. Our experts working at the Central Bank believe that in recent months relations between it and the government have improved somewhat. The Central Bank nevertheless does want to adapt, albeit cautiously at the moment, to the new market conditions. For example, the interest rate is currently 210 percent a year or 17.5 percent a month whereas inflation in September-November was 15 to 17 percent. This means that a positive interest rate has appeared in Russia for the first time.

There are also some alarming tendencies. For example, the raising of customs import duties. It is our hope that this is the exception rather than the beginning of a lengthy process. On the whole I believe that this year's balance has been positive—inflation has fallen and the slump in production is slowing down even if it has not actually stopped. Thus there are grounds for optimism. [passage omitted]

Political Issues

Yeltsin Delivers New Year's Greetings

CM0201123794 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2053 GMT 31 Dec 93

[New Year's address by President Yeltsin; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Dear friends! Soon the clock on the Kremlin's Spasskaya Tower will chime midnight and we will see off 1993. Whatever it was like it will remain in our memories, in our history.

In this difficult year, civil war almost singed our homes and crossed the threshold of our Fatherland. I hope that the politicians and citizens of our country will learn the lesson of these bitter events.

There were also important acquisitions in the past year. The new Russian Constitution, adopted at a nationwide referendum, came into force. It gives a firm foundation for the construction of a democratic state and free society. We held honest and free elections, and I hope that the people who were elected to the Federal Assembly will always listen to their people and think about the good of Russia.

Now, in the midst of winter, we can say with confidence: Russia has bread and staple foodstuffs, and our houses will be warm.

In the Commonwealth of Independent States we have at last virtually reached the understanding that we need to be together. We are so indissolubly linked by history, economics and a single destiny that it is simply not possible for us to live apart. Our people will not allow this, anyway.

Dear friends! Now, in keeping with a long tradition, the majority of you are at home with your family, with children, with your nearest and dearest. Many are celebrating this holiday with friends. I wish you happiness in the time you spend with each other. May your friends be with you not only in times of happiness but also at difficult moments. This is the custom in Russia, and it is good that this tradition is alive.

Not everyone is celebrating the New Year at a festive table. Let us remember them on this New Year's Eve. Let us remember those who are guarding our peace, those who are guaranteeing the country's normal life, and of course, thanks to those who keep our television screens and radios on the air throughout the night.

On this New Year's Eve I would like to address in particular those Russians who are outside Russia's borders.

Dear compatriots! You are inseparable from us and we are inseparable from you. We were and will be together. On the basis of law and solidarity, we defend and will defend your and our common interests. In the new year, 1994, we will do this with greater energy and greater resoluteness.

I hope for you all, dear people of Russia, that the coming year is, above all else, peaceful. Preserving peace in Russia is my main task as president, but I know that it will be incredibly hard to do so without your support. I am counting on you in this most important endeavor.

I hope that the New Year brings your families more good things and more peace of mind. We must be closer to one another. Only together will we be able to conquer need; only together will we be able to defend our peace of mind; only together will we open up a future for our children. May the coming year, 1994, be a year of coming together, a year of harmony, a year of reason.

Dear fellow countrymen, I hope that in the coming year, 1994, that your family will not want for anything. As the president, I will spare no efforts to that end. May your secret dreams come true and may the ideas that you have not yet managed to put into effect be realized in the coming year.

May those who are young find their love, and may that love be a long and happy one. I hope for people of my generation that their children and grandchildren will be good and loving. May we rejoice in their successes. And may we meet our children as often as possible.

Dear friends!

There are only a few seconds left before the New Year comes in. Once again I wish you a Happy New Year. I wish you happiness, good health and prosperity!

Kozyrev Gives Greetings

LD3112190893 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 31 Dec 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] You are watching Vesti. Russia's foreign minister [Andrey Kozyrev] is the next to give us his New Year's greetings.

[Begin Kozyrev recording] I would like to wish the residents of Russia more self-assurance. If we begin to respect ourselves, the whole world will respect us—there are ample opportunities for that. Therefore, more self-esteem and less panic! Do not succumb to any provocations. Let us simply live normally in our own country, cooperate normally with other countries, and be the way we ought to be, the way we really are.

I think this, in fact, is my wish for 1994—that it should be a year of stabilization and a year which should see the transformation of Russia into a normal, self-respecting great power. [end recording]

Yeltsin To Reform Cabinet After Vacation

LD3112141293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1327 GMT 31 Dec 93

[Text] As Interfax has learned, Russia's government has sent to Yeltsin proposals on a cabinet reform. A presidential decree to this effect is expected after the New Year Holidays.

A well-placed source does not rule out that Yeltsin may modify the proposals, drafted by and large by First Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar and his team.

According to a presidential spokesman, candidates to a reformed government have been asked to decide where to work: in parliament or in the council of ministers. Although, formally, the presidential decree on the possibility of alternating ministerial job with parliamentary activity is still in effect, future cabinet members have been told that such alternation would be inexpedient.

It is assumed that the Prime Minister Victor Chernomyrdin will have four deputies, one or two first assistants among them. Yegor Gaydar will retain the post of first vice-premier. It is not clear yet whether the current first deputy Oleg Soskovets will keep his rank or become an ordinary assistant.

Anatoliy Chubays and Boris Fedorov are regarded as the most- likely candidates to yet another two vice premier vacancies. However, vice-premiers will most probably be barred from combining their posts with ministerial jobs. Fedorov is currently Finance Minister, and Chubays is in charge of the State Property Committee.

According to information from other sources, the situation with Fedorov is not fully clear. It's not ruled out that he may merely become finance minister and quit the post of vice-premier.

These sources regard as virtually settled the issue on the resignation of the current Vice-Premiers Aleksandr Shokhin and Sergey Shakhray.

They believe that First Deputy Premier Vladimir Shumeyko may resign, if he is nominated to the office of Speaker of the Federation Council - the new Parliament's Upper House.

The number of ministries is planned to be cut down to 30 with those reduced to be transformed into state committees. As a result of the reform, the cabinet's staff is to be slashed by 20-30 percent.

Yeltsin Urges Executive Branch To Cooperate With Parliament

LD3012195693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1907 GMT 30 Dec 93

[Text] Russian President Yeltsin has called on staff members of the presidential structures to develop constructive cooperation with the new parliament.

The new parliament is more clever, more intellectual, and more politically competent than the previous body of Soviet power, Yeltsin said at a meeting with leaders of departments of the presidential administration that took place in the Kremlin Thursday [30 December].

The year was difficult, he said, but the country has had for the first time free elections and has a democratic Constitution.

An Interfax correspondent reports that the president has stressed the need to improve the analytical work of the presidential apparatus.

Emphasis should be put on the quality, not quantity, of materials prepared by experts, he said.

The president has spoken out in favor of a reduced presidential apparatus. At the stage of discussions, he said all presidential staff members should advance proposals for decision-making, but once a decision is made, they should all be in agreement.

Vice Premiers' Future in New Government Viewed

MK3112110093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 31 Dec 93 p 1

[Yelena Kolokoltseva report under the "Power" rubric: "Boris Fedorov Will Remain Vice Premier. Shakeup in Government May Affect Aleksandr Zaveryukha"]

[Text] Boris Fedorov, Russian Federation finance minister, does not intend to reign for the time being. This was told to your SEGODNYA correspondent by a high-ranking Russian Federation Government official who wished to remain unnamed. The vice premier repeatedly stated earlier, in confidential discussions, his unwillingness to work in a coalition government. The Constitution, however, permits the president to form the cabinet personally. The participation of Mr. Fedorov in Viktor Chernomyrdin's coalition government is quite possible on condition that the course toward financial stabilization will be preserved.

To all appearances, Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin, who became member of the Russian cabinet back in summer 1991 and who at one time played the leading role in forming the post-Communist government of Yegor Gaydar, will keep his position in the government, too. One of the reasons for his keeping the role of supervisor of the foreign economic bloc, experts think, is that there are no aspirants yet in sight for a position in which one is supposed to handle the problem of Russia's relations with the other CIS countries. Besides, Aleksandr Shokhin is Russia's director of the IMF and the World Bank, and in line with the charters of these international finance organizations, the term of office in this position is two years.

At the same time, Gennadiy Melikyan, nominated by Aleksandr Shokhin and his comrades in arms in the

Party of Russian Unity and Accord [PRES], is apparently threatened with resignation. According to some information, the State Committee for Nationalities Policy led by the head of the PRES, Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray, will also be scrapped. It is not to be hoped that Mr. Shakhray will leave administrative bodies. According to unofficial information, he intends to combine parliamentary activity with work in the president's staff. Boris Saltykov, who currently holds the position of deputy science minister, also pins his hopes for a further political career on the State Duma. The candidacy of former vice premier Mr. Saltykov will in all probability be offered by the ruling cabinet for the position of Duma deputy speaker.

Mr. Zaveryukha, vice premier for agriculture, who leads the Agrarian Party, may lose his position. His vigorous lobbying in the Council of Ministers may become even an even more significant reason for that than the fact that his party's faction in the Duma is in open opposition to the government and president.

Chernomyrdin Appoints TASS Deputy Director Generals

LD3112131893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1314 GMT 31 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 31—On Friday [31 December], Russian Federation Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin appointed Yuriy Sizov and Yuriy Subbotin as deputy directors-general of ITAR-TASS, the official information and telegraph agency of Russia.

The appointments were made in accordance with President Yeltsin's recent decree on ITAR-TASS.

Government Reshuffle Scenarios Viewed

MK3112122093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Dec 93 pp 1, 2

[Ivan Zasurskiy report in the "Version" column: "A Government Is Being Formed. No-Nonsense Struggle Is Under Way Under the Christmas Tree," incorporating "Prerequisites" subhead by Sergey Vedeneyev and "postscript" by NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA]

[Text] Judging by reports from reliable sources, the reform of the Russian Government is going to be drastic. The institution of vice premiership is to be cut down to five posts: two first vice premiers (Oleg Soskovets and Yegor Gaydar) and three plain vice premiers.

In fact it is in the second echelon of vice premiers that the main struggle over titles is expected to occur. The constant haggling over the posts is beginning to produce some curious results: It appears that the carefully prepared reshuffle which will be announced on 5 January should toss overboard two radicals from Russia's Choice (Boris Fedorov and Anatoliy Chubays) and two "moderates" who have displayed relative disloyalty—Aleksandr Shokhin and Sergey Shakhray (Party of Russian Unity and Accord) [PRES].

This should be regarded only as a tentative prediction because the decisive battle for the seats has not begun yet: At yesterday's session of the government presidium—marked by the absence of the finance minister—instead of the announced agenda, a ceremony was held to express collective best New Year's wishes to first-echelon officials.

Therefore so far the main intrigue is developing not in the government itself but around it. The lineup of forces in the government remains so shrouded in mystery that it is even impossible to say whether the Economy and the Finance Ministries will be merged to "suit Gaydar" or whether the deck will be reshuffled differently: On one hand, the first scenario is more logical if one proceeds from the president's assurances and Gaydar's self-assurance. On the other, yesterday it was planned to "give hell to Urinson" following his presentation of a reform program, which has not as yet happened.

Intrigues around the government last week came through in a number of statements by Yegor Gaydar and Oleg Soskovets. The main point of contention was still over the necessity or uselessness of financial stabilization.

Meanwhile the financial stabilization intrigue, with the present condition of the Russian economy and with the current composition of the parliament, is a unique case of intensive care measures being administered to a stillborn baby. Moreover, it is becoming clear today even for "practical workers" that even theoretically the struggle against inflation by limiting demand will not only provoke social upheavals like the miners crisis (only of a general character) and further slackening of industrial activity, but neither (sic!) will it stop inflation.

Yegor Gaydar's statements in the "Moment of Truth" [TV program] with Andrey Karaulov to the effect that Russia was so close to financial stabilization in 1992 and what a little way it has to go to reach it today were obviously of a "provocative" character and did not correspond to reality. Which posed observers the dilemma: Either Gaydar is mistaken or he is telling a lie. The most feasible is the version of "eyewashing" the president (who is not an economist) and provoking Viktor Chernomyrdin. With the emerging "president-premier" standoff, Gaydar, mindful of the president's promise to keep him in the cabinet, is apparently targeting his strike against his radical colleagues, which will cause the replacement of the Fedorov-Chubays combination with Shokhin-Shakhray.

The brilliant game played in public is apparently doomed to success. This success, however, will remain purely internal and will hardly affect the cabinet's performance. This in fact underlies the hopes that the elimination of reformers from the cabinet will be less painful for the country because with the exception of

Shakhray there is no one to deal with regional policy; and, with the exception of Shokhin, no one to conduct balanced talks with the EC.

Moreover, the departure of the PRES leaders from the government will not have a stabilizing effect on government-parliament interrelations. At the same time, the replacement of those radicals who have assumed responsibility for botched (economic and political) reforms can moderate Gaydar's appetite for far-reaching confrontational transformations, while except for him, the president does not trust any other economist.

Prerequisites

As the scheduled date draws near, when the renewed structural and personal composition of the government will become widely known to the public, there is natural impatience and a growing wish to find out the consequences of particular figures' appearing at the head of the executive branch.

Anyone lucky enough to attend a conference of a narrow in-circle at 1100 on Tuesday, 28 December in Volynskoye near Moscow, could have satisfied his natural curiosity. It discussed in particular the composition of the future government.

It is hardly reasonable, however, to rely on such guesswork even if coming from the most well-informed in-people. In the end the decisions will be made by a person with fine political intuition that has never failed him so far at the most responsible moments. The president has always fully understood the importance of cadre work, personally deciding many questions related to appointments.

As for the general trend of the upcoming (and already proceeding) cadre reshuffle, it is apparently based on the following prerequisites.

Balance. The need for a balanced approach conditions the aspiration to achieve such a correlation of leading cadres in political posts which would most fully reflect the emerging balance of political forces and allow him to consider himself the president of "all Russians," at the same time guaranteeing a consistent continuation of reforms—even if with certain adjustments. Such an approach leaves no room for radicals or extremists of any description in the Russian leadership and opens the way for more moderate leaders.

Reliability. The need for guarantees of future mutual understanding explains the choice of people who are personally known and devoted. As the previous course of events has shown, these may include some fairly unexpected figures (for example, those well known in the process of past work in party bodies).

Professionalism. This quite reasonable demand is very hard to implement in practice. First of all, it ill matches the previous criterion. Second, the type of professional leader in statesmanship has not as yet taken proper shape in Russian organizational culture.

Continuity. No matter how one might wish, it is extremely difficult and not really necessary to replace everybody simultaneously. This process acquires a gradual character and therefore the question of priorities in the effecting changes arises.

Shooting the Losers [otstrannennost]. The supreme interests of self-preservation inevitably call for scapegoats and fall guys to be found. They will be found because they provide an easy opportunity to absolve oneself of responsibility for failures and shift it on the part of leadership that is replaced, which can and should be sacrificed.

Subjectivism. The logic of the president's thinking is hard to explain since many of his decisions are of an intuitive character. He also quite confirms this himself. Let us recall, for instance, his famous interview with E. Ryazanov ("Does it not seem to you that your are being led from somewhere up above?"— "Yes, indeed, it does.")

P.S.

According to some reports, Vladimir Kvasov, chief of the Russian Federation Government apparatus, has been accorded the rank of minister. It should be noted that Mr. Kvasov was elected to the State Duma in the 112th Orekhovo Zuyevo constituency in Moscow Oblast.

Some sources report that the following alignment of forces in the cabinet is quite probable: Viktor Gerashchenko gives way to Boris Fedorov who will in turn be replaced by Yegor Gaydar.

Such a figure as Yuriy Luzhkov is also being considered but according to some behind-the-scenes strategists, his time will come later—in presidential elections because Luzhkov, in their opinion, can become a good match for Zhirinovskiy.

Yablokov Explains Duties Following Dismissal by Yeltsin

LD3012135493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1135 GMT 30 Dec 93

[Text] Aleksey Yablokov has told INTERFAX that he is leaving the inner circle of the President, but gets a chance to normally deal with matters which prompted him to enter the system.

On Wednesday President Yeltsin dismissed Yablokov from the post of advisor on environmental and health matters and appointed him the chairman of a mixed environmental safety commission of the Russian Security Council.

"That was my request, Yablokov stressed. Lately I could not work effectively enough. I said that to the president, implying that he did not take much interest in environmental matters either." Yablokov said that the decisions of the mixed commission will be compulsory for discussion, unlike the recommendations of a presidential advisor.

Vitruk: Constitutional Court Should Stay Out of Politics

LD3112121793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1113 GMT 31 Dec 93

[Text] Acting chairman of the Russian Constitutional Court [CC] Nikolay Vitruk told Interfax that in 1994 the court should become an impartial body of constitutional justice.

The CC made its contribution in 1993 to the making of a democratic state even though its own coming of age as the top body of constitutional justice was not easy, Vitruk said. In his view, the court's biggest success were the decisions in which it upheld the rights and freedoms of individuals. Numerous rulings were handed out that established equality of the citizen and the state in the courts of law. "We defended the right of everybody to be protected by courts in resolving any conflict between the citizens and the authority," Vitruk emphasized.

The Constitutional Court has on numerous occasions sent messages to the government on specific issues such as pensions and benefits for victims of the Chernobyl disaster. "I think that in this respect the CC was a success story and became a tool of democracy. Russian society needs it as such," Nikolay Vitruk is convinced.

On the other hand, the making of the Constitutional Court was not smooth, he emphasized, notably as far as the confrontation between the executive and legislative authority is concerned. The CC head recalled that earlier legislation on the court "allowed dragging it into the political struggle."

Vitruk believes that both houses of parliament will apply to the Constitutional Court in 1994. He thinks that new legislation, now under consideration, should make it impossible to drag the court into political conflicts on either side.

Filatov Sets Up Analytical 'Council of Experts'

LD0201165094 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1251 GMT 2 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow, 2 Jan—Sergey Filatov, President Yeltsin's head of staff, is currently working on the creation of an analytical council of experts to provide practical assistance to the president in the performance of his constitutional duties, he said in an interview with ITAR-TASS.

According to the chief of staff, the three analytical centers that used to work separately to the president will shortly be reorganized into a single unit. This unit, or council of experts, will concentrate all analysis coming in from the various research structures and draw up recommendations for the president, the government, and Russian regional leaders.

The council of experts, as the prototype for a future administration of the head of state, will work on the president's special programs and on his yearly greetings messages.

Filatov Calls On Deputies To Understand Need for Stability

LD0201220194 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1900 GMT 2 Jan 94

[Interview with Sergey Filatov, head of the presidential administration, by an unidentified correspondent; place and date not given; from the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] How do you see the first day of a session of the new parliament? I understand that it is not a rewarding business to make forecasts now, but still, as far as I know, both voters and deputies expect the president to make a speech during the first day of the session. Will this happen?

[Filatov] You know, deputies are calling for this. They would like to start their work by meeting with the president, by a presidential speech. Such a program is currently being considered and prepared, though I am aware that Boris Nikolayevich has the final say on that. He must make the final decision on how to start cooperation with deputies.

That is the first thing. The second thing is that one should be aware that people are tired of pointless discussions and confrontations. One should understand that what people really want is political stability in the country. The third thing that gives inspiration is that despite what is being said about the economic reform, or how much it is being blamed, its results are obvious. No one can deny this. Both the government and experts have predicted that 1994 might be a crucial year, and this also yields a certain optimism.

If one were asked what year one would have liked to see come in, I would have said 1945. It seems to me that there is something deeply philosophical and humane in this. Hopes of victory, hopes of stability, hopes of peace, and hopes of calm—it seems to me that there is very profound sense in all of this. I would like to live to see all this, and I think that if everyone understood that, and in particular those who will play a significant role in deciding the country's future, it would be a significant contribution to the country's development and to the process of stabilization.

Burbulis: Yeltsin Cannot Remain Patron of Society

LD0201102094 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0557 GMT 2 Jan 94

[By unidentified correspondent, including recorded remarks by Gennadiy Burbulis, president of the Strategiya humanitarian and political science center; from the "Tsentr" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent] The Strategiya [Strategy] center, created by Gennadiy Burbulis after his removal from official power structures, has summed up the results of the first year of its work. The existence of the center is no secret today, but its work, as well as the personality of its president, are shrouded in some kind of mystery.

[Burbulis] There is awareness about the center. They do not know what it does, what results have been achieved, but the world knows it is there, and this is our achievement, as it were.

[Correspondent] Speaking on the urgent issue of creating a political party, Gennadiy Burbulis stated that, sadly, he has had to be publicly involved, of late, in a dialogue on this issue with President Yeltsin, whose desire to also build a party comes into confrontation with Yeltsin's aspiration to be and remain an arbitrator of the society.

[Burbulis] Our objective is to help Yeltsin to understand the following: That any further attempt to remain an arbitrator is threatening to him personally and to his political biography, and therefore, is threatening to the whole country. The transitional stage that we are undergoing, the sheer scale and depth of the contradictions, and of the clash of interests do not allow the president to take a stance of arbitrator today. One thing is to be a political arbitrator, and another thing—to be a president who adopts a certain position in a clear-cut, businesslike, and committed way, but at the same time, who is able to engage in a dialogue with all other political structures in the country and in the society. These are different things. Yeltsin needs to take up a clear position, to stop playing patron to the nation, especially since the nation is simply not there as such, so this precludes this patronage, what the nation badly needs is leadership. Yeltsin must learn to conduct dialogue with the society in forms for which a serious school of democratic leadership is needed.

Should our assessment be correct, to some extent, then indeed one will not be able to move even a step forward without a party. However, this cannot be a presidential party any more. This cannot be a party built on Yeltsin's charisma. This must be a two-way street: Of the president moving toward the society and of society, in its growing awareness of the necessity of such political structure.

They must both grow up mutually to meet this challenge. I believe our center can be equally useful by way of inspiring the authority and the person in authority, and by helping to implement this demand in practical terms.

Executive Branch Members' Activities Reported

PM3012135793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 30 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Executive Branch Monitoring"]

[Text] **The Government's Working Day**

Russian Government head Viktor Chernomyrdin took part in a ceremony to award state prizes and honors held in the Kremlin.

First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets prepared for the 30 December Russian Federation Government session, where it is planned to examine the following questions: the draft forecast for the country's social development for 1994, the development of small entrepreneurship in Russia, and the question of setting up a State Administration for the Protection of Labor in the Russian Federation. In the evening Oleg Soskovets chaired a conference on questions of specialist aviation.

First Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar took part in a session of the Interdepartmental Commission for the Problems of the Coal Mining Industry.

First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko chaired a "roundtable" for Russian and foreign journalists, during which he answered numerous questions from representatives of the press concerning changes in the Cabinet of Ministers, and possible cuts in the level of government apparatus personnel. In the afternoon, Vladimir Shumeyko took part in a ceremony in the Kremlin to award state prizes in the literary sphere.

Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray met with Tatarstan Vice President V.N. Likhachev.

Vice Premier Anatoliy Chubays met with Yuriy Lyubimov, producer at the Theater on the Taganka. In the afternoon Anatoliy Chubays held a working conference with his deputies (State Committee for the Management of State Property in the Russian Federation.)

Vice Premier Yuriy Yarov met with representatives of the Russian and foreign press at a press conference devoted to questions of Russia's social policy for 1994. Leaders of ministries and departments in the social sphere, in particular from the Ministry of Labor, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Social Protection of the Population, the State Committee for Chernobyl, and the State Committee for the North, the federal employment and migration services, the Pension Fund, and the Social Insurance Fund.

Sessions

At the Russian Federation Government session scheduled for 30 December, it is planned to examine a whole range of questions. One of the main questions is the draft forecast for the socioeconomic development of the Russian Federation in 1994, which incorporates the price situation in 1994, the state's financial balance sheet, and the forecast balance sheet for the population's income and expenditure. The problems of the development of small entrepreneurship in Russia, and the organization in the Russian Federation of a State Administration for the Protection of Labor, for the oversight and monitoring of labor protection, will then be discussed at the session.

Documents

Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin signed an Edict "On the 1993 Russian Federation State Prize for Literature and the Arts." Under this edict it is established that a state prize worth 10 million rubles will go to the most talented literary and artistic works which are outstanding for their novelty and originality and make the greatest contribution to Russia's arts.

In addition, an Edict "On Awarding the Russian Federation State Prize for Fine Arts to Artist Mikhail Shemyakin for Works of Recent Years" was signed by the Russian president.

By directive of the Russian Government, the Russian State Committee for Sanitary and Epidemiological Supervision has been allocated 1.9 billion rubles from the Russian Federation Government reserve fund to implement urgent measures in line with the federal "Vaktsinoprofilaktika" [preventive vaccination] special-purpose program in the fourth quarter of 1993.

Khasbulatov Applies for Release, Cites Absence of Evidence

LD3012150793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1430 GMT 30 Dec 93

[Text] Ruslan Khasbulatov, the former speaker of the Russian parliament, who was arrested in connection with the events of 3 and 4 October in Moscow, and his lawyer Vladimir Fomichev, have put in an application to have the criminal charges quashed and to be released from custody owing to the absence of a corpus delicti in the actions of Khasbulatov. It was reported to INTERFAX today by lawyer Fomichev that since the arrest on 4 October Khasbulatov has still not had evidence submitted to him confirming his guilt.

'Terrorists' Detained in Rostov Prison

LD3012134893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1135 GMT 30 Dec 93

[Text] The four terrorists arrested last Monday [27 December] in the outskirts of Makhachkala, Dagestan, were brought on Wednesday night to Rostov-on-Don, where they kidnapped a group of school children last week. The Rostov Interior Department informed INTERFAX that the terrorists were being detained at a preliminary investigation prison in the city. The investigation is expected to continue in the new year.

According to INTERFAX reporters, on Thursday the local administration is planning a reception for the participants in the operation to release the hostages.

Meanwhile, the Chechen Interior Ministry has informed INTERFAX that not a single dollar banknote has been found on the territory of the Chechen republic: The terrorists claimed that they scattered banknotes flying over the republic. Earlier reports said several banknotes were found near Mineralnye Vody. It is believed that the terrorists scattered the banknotes when they flew on a helicopter from Mineralnye Vody to Makhachkala with the purpose of misleading law enforcement bodies.

Kvasov Interviewed on Civil Service Edict

PM3112102593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Dec 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Interview with V.P. Kvasov, leader of the Russian Federation Government apparatus, by Iosif Galperin; place and date of interview not given: "Civil Servant Should Have a Proud Ring, Believes V.P. Kvasov, Leader of the Russian Federation Government apparatus"]

[Text] ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA has published a document defining the concepts of the federal state service and the federal state employee and precisely and clearly prescribes the bans and benefits connected with this service and outlines the civil servant's path from consultant to state adviser. We asked Vladimir Petrovich Kvasov, under whose leadership the document is being elaborated, what gave rise to its appearance.

[Kvasov] Today we are in practice creating a new state. All its ideas are included in the draft Constitution adopted by the nationwide referendum. The controllability of the economy requires the building of an absolutely new state service system and its standardized regulation. At federal, regional, and local level. There is a decision of the president's on the restructuring of the management apparatus and even earlier decisions on the restructuring of local organs came into force. It was for this that a statute was adopted to ensure that from the outset state service is joined by qualified people.

The edict states that this statute does not regulate questions of the posts of government members, the leader of the president's administration, and other so-called political posts. What is new for Russia is that we are distinguishing between administrative and political posts. We are approaching an establishment of power whereby political leaders come and go but the apparatus operates. That is necessary for the stability and continuity of power and in addition the civil servant will be protected from political tyranny.

This statute is the first attempt in Russian history to put state administrative workers in their places. The actual mechanism for making and executing decisions and monitoring the job and the person doing it has been recorded. There are also prohibitions. For instance, they cannot take part in strikes. The civil servant does not have the right to hold another post at the same time. Teaching is an exception. The state employee does not have the right to engage in business personally or even through agents, to be a representative of third parties in a state organ and use for nonofficial purposes information which has been supplied to him, or to receive a fee for publishing items as part of his official activity.

[Galperin] In Germany, for instance, state service is considered one of the most privileged of jobs. If a person

joins the state service his whole life ahead is assured. And that plus point is evened out by very powerful protection against minus points, there is a law on the ban on professions, they do not accept political extremists for state service. For instance a Communist Party or Fascist Party member cannot be a state employee...

[Kvasov] The state service should be outside party allegiance. That does not mean that the employee does not have the right to belong to a particular party or public organization. That is a violation of human rights. But he must not be tied by party decisions, which is enshrined in the statute. That is the first, quite mild, stage.

[Galperin] When political life in the country once becomes settled, when the parties' real political faces become clear, then this requirement for a state employee will probably be made specific by some separate statute and separate law and so forth?

[Kvasov] Initially we were more specific. But we decided to leave it like that for the time being. That is also a step forward, although it must be said that a number of norms envisaged by the draft statute are not norms for direct action (the institution of state posts and the determination of qualifications requirements for them, and others) and should be made more specific by other Russian Federation legislative acts. At the same time their inclusion in the draft lends the statute integrity, provides an opportunity for the consistent building of a state service system in accordance with necessity and as these acts become ready and also facilitates the transition in the future to legal norms.

[Galperin] Take the following example. In Bashkortostan it was the Supreme Soviet chairman who signed a secret edict about how all civil servants in any state organs have the right to a 10-year loan at an interest rate of 8 percent for an amount equal to 120 monthly salaries. This was adopted before the elections and started to operate during the elections. From the viewpoint of morality, for instance, that is understandable, but how to assess this from the viewpoint of the statute on the state employee in general?

[Kvasov] The state employee, because the state places him in an organizational framework, should have a certain compensation. But the compensation should be the same for all. In Bashkiria and Ryazan Oblast. That is the principle. But I consider such regional decisions to be purely populist.

[Galperin] Perhaps the most interesting thing for readers will be the new table of ranks. Will the "titular counsellor" and "collegiate assessor" really become modern again?

[Kvasov] We spent a long time discussing the introduction of a table of ranks. Before the revolution it simply defined a civil servant's place in the official hierarchy but did not touch on the range of his duties. We decided to reintroduce it but within a system with other solutions. Materially a "rank" adds little, merely a small percentage increase. The main thing here is the moral incentive. For instance, a third class consultant (the lowest rank) knows he can serve to a higher rank. The top civil servant is a full state councillor of the Russian Federation. Any rank is retained upon retirement but is referred to as "retired," which should attract people to state service. And, second, people will start to treat their work more responsibly.

In our state service now we have cases of corruption and abuse of official position. And how should we fight this? By increasing responsibility and involvement. For instance, having worked 12 and one half years in state service a man can later, when he reaches pension age, receive a pension which is 80 percent of his salary. And the pension is then indexed.

[Galperin] It is still hard for the state to vie with private firms and particularly with joint ventures....

[Kvasov] Indeed, responsibility there is less and wages are bigger. But state service is stabler. An employee can be thrown out of a firm at any time, but just try doing that here! Look at what a complex dismissal process has been included in the statute.

You must understand that when a person does not value his job, when a civil servant thinks, never mind, if they dismiss me I shall join a private firm and earn several times more, it is then that temptation arises. In the West an attempt to bribe a civil servant ends with the civil servant dragging the briber to the police. A man there feels he is a representative of the state, second, the state protects him, so he cannot be gotten to. In our country, unfortunately, there has been none of all this. In the past a party card was some kind of restraining factor. But when the oppression of party commitments disappeared the double-headed flower of corruption immediately bloomed in the organs of state management at all levels.

The new statute is one attempt, by increasing the value of state service, to struggle against corruption. We are seeking to change the attitude which has formed over the past 75 years which views the civil servant as a bureaucrat. What is bureaucracy? If you look it up in Dal, it is what the state needs. You remember how KROKODIL used to portray bureaucrats in our country? The bureaucrat sits there and looks up some paragraph or point or other. And he says that according to some rule you cannot do something. But who wrote that rule? The state. That means we blamed the bureaucrat for observing the state's interest. Do you understand? That is, in first publishing a law we implied it was for paper only, for form's sake. And those who tried to observe the letter of the law were called bureaucrats. But today that is precisely the kind of person we need. We are issuing thousands of laws, decrees, and directives. And to ensure that they all operate we need people who can fulfill them. At present we have a situation in which if we like a decision we fulfill it and if we don't we pretend it does

not exist. But if some control organ or some inspector "catches you out" then you say: "Oh, sorry, we overlooked it! We forgot to pay 500 million rubles tax...."

[Galperin] At the time of early perestroyka the main slogan was that there were too many bureaucrats. The 18 million people employed in the management apparatus had to be reduced, etc., and now there are also sometimes accusations that since the reforms the number of apparatus workers has not declined.

[Kvasov] Naturally, today even in the field of economic management we cannot retain all structures in the form in which they existed a year ago. They are beginning to harm matters. We must constantly adapt the management structure's substructure to the new economic realities. So there is nothing surprising about the fact that we periodically abolish some ministries and create some organs. That is an ordinary redistribution of functions between state organs—a redistribution dictated by life.

[Galperin] And between Moscow and the regions.

[Kvasov] First, an increasing number of functions are being taken from the center and transferred to the regions. Look at the Constitution. It does not state that the government manages. Although it is not ruled out that an integral system of state enterprises will remain in our country. But that is not the main thing. The government elaborates and submits a state federal budget and ensures its fulfillment. That is its task is to pursue a unified financial and monetary and credit policy. The government only manages federal property. And the amount of federal property is constantly dwindling. We are also issuing it to the regions so naturally with the reduction of the volume of federal property there will be a reduction in the sphere of federal management. Although some new structures may perhaps be created in the regions. But at a completely different level, not vertically but horizontally.

Election Aftermath

New Constitution Prerequisite for Stability

LD0301114894 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1125 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] Moscow January 3 TASS—The press secretary of the Russian president, Vyacheslav Kostikov, answered questions in an interview with ITAR-TASS on Monday.

Question: What are the main principles and tasks of the Russian president in 1994?

Answer: The domineering prerequisite of stability in 1994 is the new Russian Constitution. I would like to point out that the Constitution is reliably protected by the free will of the people and that the president, as a guarantor of the Constitution, has a reliable mechanism for its protection. The main political task of President Boris Yeltsin is the realisation of the new Constitution both in the Russian state system and relying on basic democratic provisions of the Constitution.

Question: What will the president's relations with the Federal Assembly rely on?

Answer: In its relations with the Federal Assembly the president will act in alliance with all political forces interested in the protection of Russia's interests and the development of its reforms. The character of this interaction will depend on an extent to which political parties and blocs represented in the Federal Assembly show respect for Russia's constitutional will and on what lessons participants in a political dialogue learned from past experience.

Rejecting the practice of confrontation, the president is prepared to take advantage of all powers granted to him by the Constitution to defend democracy, reforms, Russia's integrity and stability.

Question: What do you believe to be main priorities of Russia's state policy in 1994?

Answer: In the economic policy, priority will be given to strengthening factors of financial stability, curbing inflation rates, strengthening the rouble and giving support to a sound industrial base.

In the social policy, the emphasis will be laid on the protection of the population from criminals and the creation of fair and worthy conditions for honest and peaceful labour.

Undoubtedly, the Russian foreign policy will lay the emphasis on the protection of Russia's national interests, the rights of the Russian and the Russian-speaking population in the framework of international law and proceeding from the idea of national solidarity.

Government Said Violating New Constitution

PM3012161993 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Dec 93 pp 1-2

[Vladimir Isakov "Parliamentary Diary" dated 27 December: "Greedy Alogrithm"]

[Excerpt] **What Is There To Be Ashamed of?**

This could happen only in Russia: The new constitution, a bombastic panegyric in its honor, and two edicts which totally contradict it and cancel out the contents of several articles of the constitution at once are published on one and the same page in the government newspaper.

One of the edicts is entitled "On Guarantees of Local Self-Management in the Russian Federation," but it would be more accurate to call it "On the Elimination of Local Self-Management in the Russian Federation," for it virtually eliminates the rights of local self-management.

Elections to organs of local self-management are scheduled at the suggestion of the superior administration

head, who also decides on the election procedure. Local administration officials are permitted to combine their post with work on the representative organ, and the administration head is also permitted to chair its sessions. If such a perfectly "tame" representative organ turns obstinate for some reason, this does not matter—the administration head himself has the right to put the statute on local self-management to a referendum. Here is a very eloquent detail, albeit, of course, not the most important one: It is not the soviet but the self-same local administration head who now gives his consent to a people's deputy's discharge from work, to his exclusion from a collective farm, cooperative, or educational institution, and also to his transfer to lower-paid work. Know, deputy, who is master of the house!

How familiar all this is: the same ploys, the same tricks. Only they have been switched from the all-Russia level to the local level. And there is the same total disrespect for the law and the constitution.

Please forgive my juridical tediousness, but I will indicate specific articles: This edict violates Article 10 (separation of powers), Articles 15 and 76 (supremacy of the constitution and laws), Articles 85 and 90 (president's competence), and also Chapter 8 (local self-management) of the new constitution which has just been announced. Since the edict came into force the moment it was signed, not the moment it was published, it also violates universally recognized human and civil rights enshrined both in the Constitution (Article 15) and in international treaties.

The second edict, which exempts from value-added tax the turnover from sales of precious metals and precious stones, is also equally unconstitutional. According to Yeltsin's constitution (Articles 71, 76, and 104), such decisions have to be drawn up in law and can be adopted only after a government conclusion. Under the constitution the approval "retroactively" of presidential edicts is permitted in just two cases: on the introduction of martial law and a state of emergency. Does this mean that a state of emergency has been secretly introduced in the country?

I have touched on just two edicts, remarkable for being published simultaneously with the new constitution. But the same can also be said of many other documents from the president's desk: on accelerating agrarian reform, on approving the program for the privatization of the mass media, on approving the new coat of arms, on eliminating the Ministry of Security.... The authority to adopt them was exceeded in every case, and they do not conform with either the former or the new constitution.

If anyone had any illusions that law and order would finally be established in the country with the adoption of the new constitution, he will, alas, have to abandon them. The fresh-baked constitution has been violated by its very creators from the very first day. To fanfares and toasts in its honor the country is continuing to sink into a quagmire of arbitrary rule and lawlessness.

Figures Do Not Balance Again

I have before me three newspapers from Stavropol Kray: STAVROPOLSKAYA PRAVDA for 17 December, the same newspaper for 22 December, and STAVROPOLSKIYE GUBERNSKIYE VEDOMOSTI for 18 December. All three publish the results of the elections and the referendum in Stavropol Kray, and they are different in all three! The list of voters is different, and the number of voting papers handed out does not coincide. How could this happen, if the same voters voted and all four voting papers were issued simultaneously?

This is called a "pitchfork." By tying the vote on the constitution in with the elections, the organizers of the referendum did, of course, secure a considerable number of additional votes. But they underestimated the fact that in such complex voting it is very difficult to "tidy up the loose ends." Whereas the referendum was held practically without control, the candidates' results were closely observed by their numerous agents. This was why it took so long for the voting results to reach Moscow in dribs and drabs.

Of course, the question of the results of the voting in the deputies' elections and the referendum on the new constitution will be raised both in the press and at sessions of the State Duma. It would also be not at all out of place for the Russian Federation Prosecutor's Office, which stands guard over the law, to institute criminal proceedings in respect of the aforesaid facts. On the threshold of an unpleasant discussion on this subject the presidential press unobtrusively hints that if the results of the referendum on the new constitution are canceled, the president in turn will cancel the results of the elections to the Federal Assembly. Either the Constitution imposed by means of a deception or presidential rule not limited by any laws—this is the poor choice offered Russians today by the "Russia's Choice" limited partnership.

There Will Be a Black Obelisk

But what about the international observers? Why did several hundred very experienced politicians, gathered from all over the world, assure the country and the whole world that the elections in Russia were held according to the highest standards of democracy?

This was despite the fact that the elections were preceded by the shooting up of parliament and the introduction of a state of emergency (during which it is forbidden by law to hold elections). The elections were held not according to the law but according to a statute which was adopted personally by the president and was changed repeatedly in the course of the elections. A number of public organizations were banned illegally, by presidential edict, on the eve of the elections. An entire section of the political spectrum—movements of a national-patriotic orientation—was criminally cut off. The opposition press was blocked for practically the whole duration of the election campaign. The government made attempts to exert crude pressure on electoral associations and

individual candidates (a ban on campaigning against the constitution, the institution of criminal proceedings). Despite the fact that foreign observers responded to the question "Would you like such elections to be held in your country?" by opening their eyes wide and starting to wave their hands in horror. Despite all this, the elections and the referendum in Russia were acknowledged a model of democracy. Congratulations poured in from all over the world....

There can only be one rational explanation for all this. To all appearances, the West has decided firmly to categorize Russia among the countries to which pan-human notions of legality and a rule-of-law state cannot apply: "What can you expect from them—they are savages!"

Thank you. We have probably deserved this. But do not take it amiss if a tablet is set up in the Russian parliament at some time inscribed with the names of those foreign statesmen who approved of the shooting up of the Supreme Soviet and applauded the shameful machinations over the new Russian Constitution. To remind your descendants and ours. [passage omitted]

Shakhray on Parliamentary Party Talks

LD3112143993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1327 GMT 31 Dec 93

[Text] Leader of the Russian Unity and Concord Party Sergey Shakhray, MP, said in an interview with Interfax Friday [31 December] that the consultations between the leaders of the four largest parliamentary parties, Liberal Democrats, Russia's Choice, Communists and Agrarians, were "an unprincipled deal."

In his view, because only 50 percent of the Russian MPs were elected on party lists while the others, in electoral districts, these talks infringe on the rights of deputies who are not members of the four parties.

He thinks that reduction of the government headquarters might "weaken" the government in which he is a vice premier and step up the confrontation between the executive and legislative branches.

He did not rule out the possibility that he, Aleksandr Shokhin and some others would not be included in the new government.

Shumeyko Remarks on Duma Function Viewed

PM3112121193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 31 Dec 93 p 1

[Article by Artem Dmitriyev: "Is Duma an Economic Organ?"]

[Text] The deputies of the new parliament gave a sharply negative response to the statement by First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko, who defined the Duma as "only the lower chamber, which should engage in economic issues." "We should not assign the Duma too great a role," the first vice premier stressed. And therefore, thus giving up the lower chamber, Vladimir Shumeyko has defined a different role for himself, laying claim to the post of upper chamber speaker. This intention of the first vice premier's has also generated a protest from deputies. It has become known to the editorial office that representatives of the Urals and Siberia have put forward their own nomination for this post. Other groups and factions also have their own candidates. So far no agreement has been reached on this issue.

This is not the first time recently that Vladimir Shumeyko has made statements which have met with a noisy response. There was a lot of noise over the statement which he addressed on the eve of the elections to the Central Electoral Commission. The first vice premier suggested removing from the register, that is in fact eliminating from participation in the elections, the parties and blocs criticizing the draft Constitution. As we know the Central Electoral Commission rejected this appeal and confirmed its decision in conjunction with the arbitration court not to allow the violation of legislation on elections.

It is also worth recalling that when the first vice premier held the post of minister of press and information the government adopted Decree No. 1233, which inflicted the most irreparable blow to freedom of speech and essentially led to the suspension of the publication of almost all newspapers and journals. Participation in such actions will hardly lend clout to the well-known politician who occupies a key position in the top echelons of power.

Party Leaders Continue Discussions of Duma Chairperson

LD3112171293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1629 GMT 31 Dec 93

[Text] Leaders of Russia's electoral blocs and political parties on Friday held a new meeting in the Kremlin to discuss candidacies to the posts of chairperson and deputy chairpersons of the State Duma, the lower house of the new parliament.

Well-informed sources told Interfax the meeting was attended by Yegor Gaydar (Russia's Choice), Grigory Yavlinsky (the Yavlinsky-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc), Vladimir Zhirinovsky (the Liberal Democratic Party), Nikolay Travkin (the Democratic Party), Yekaterina Lakhova (the Union of Women of Russia), Mikhail Lapshin (the Agrarian Party), and Gennadiy Zyuganov (the Communist Party). Nobody from the Party of Russian Unity and Concord was present, however.

The next meeting has been scheduled for January 4.

Election Results, Country's Future Pondered

PM3112184193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Dec 93 p 2

[Interview with Doctor of Historical Sciences Sergey Vladimirovich Volkov by O. Bobrakov, under the "Political Prognosis" rubric; place and date not given: "It Isn't All Gloom: Zhirinovskiy Will Not Be President and The Communists Will Not Return to Power"]

[Text] At times of trouble people readily turn to all sorts of prophets—from astrologists to those who read the future from playing cards. Today's guest, Doctor of Historical Sciences Sergey Vladimirovich Volkov, does not resort to supernatural forces. Nevertheless, his predictions are distinguished by their remarkable accuracy.

His opinions have usually been at variance with the chorus of commentators and "forecasters" of the most diverse views. Admittedly, his predictions are not widely known because, being "different" from everyone, he appeared most often in small-circulation publications and until recently, like a dissident of the Brezhnev era, he has been published mostly in foreign emigre newspapers.

Back in January-February 1991, when everyone began talking about Gorbachev's "coup" (some in exultation, others in panic), he claimed that such a thing was impossible, that the country's disintegration was just a few months away, and that after the transfer of real power by Gorbachev into the hands of the republic authorities he would inevitably become redundant and be dropped. Despite the widespread convictions that "the Army will not let itself and the country be destroyed" he was sure that it could not do anything about it.

At the end of 1991, when everyone, including experts from the CIA, was expecting—some with fear, others with hope—that a "social explosion" would follow the release of prices, he expressed the conviction that Yeltsin could sleep easy in his bed because the Communists' hopes of coming to power at the head of a "people's uprising" were absolutely groundless. Conversely, at the time of the complete "obedience" of the vice president and the Supreme Soviet, the author of this forecast said that the real danger to the regime could only come from a section of its own structures which would form a compact with the opposition or evolve into national-bolsheviks.

[Bobrakov] Nevertheless, Sergey Vladimirovich, why are your forecasts so astonishingly accurate? After all, you predicted the results of the elections to the Federal Assembly with an accuracy of within 5 percent.

[Volkov] To assess a specific political situation you simply have to know, first, how in principle people of a certain outlook will behave in situations of a certain type and second, what that given person's outlook is and what that type of situation is. I cannot know a great many specific situations (because I am not one of the "initiated") but if I have at least 60 percent of the significant information for any given situation I can hardly go wrong. You have to know how to compare reliable facts, which by no means everyone can do properly, not even those who possess the full set of information. The most important thing here is not to succumb to emotion or to extrapolate from one's own political preferences, something which more than 90 percent of people who presume to judge events are clearly incapable of doing.

[Bobrakov] What role does your profession as an historian play in the way that you view the situation? I have heard, by the way, that you were virtually the youngest ever doctor of historical sciences....

[Volkov] That is probably right. I defended my thesis when I was 34, but I am a historian mainly in terms of my way of thinking. History for me has been a natural pastime since childhood. It contains the key to the understanding of all things. After all, people have not changed in millennia.... But I became a professional historian quite by chance. As a writer once said, "I wrote simply because the sorry times prevented me from acting."

[Bobrakov] You correctly predicted the results of the elections to the Federal Assembly. How did you envisage the breakdown of social forces in the country in mid-December? Did any surprises emerge for you in this respect during the voting?

[Volkov] It was quite obvious 12-18 months ago that in any even remotely free elections the greatest chance of success would belong to those who are associated with the "third force," that is, neither the "democrats" nor the "Communists." The organizers of the elections did everything possible to prevent the participation in the elections of those parties which could have a real claim to that kind of image. The requirement to collect 100,000 signatures in just two-three weeks was aimed precisely against them because those parties were still very weak organizationally or had only recently been created. Consequently, the only contender for the role of the "purely patriotic" party was the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] which won the votes of all those who did not want to vote either for the democrats or the Communists. Some people thought that if the patriotic idea seemed to be a base caricature people would not vote for it. These were vain expectations. The very idea is so natural and appealing that they even voted for the caricature. The argument "down with everyone" was fairly widespread.

I have always said (including in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA a year ago) that the patriotic idea would sooner or later prevail, its victory was inevitable because it is at the basis of any normal statehood. And if the present regime cannot identify itself with it, someone else will do so and, furthermore, the best chance will belong to those who are customarily called the "red-browns." What is surprising about that: If you do not

want to be patriots yourselves, if you say nothing and prevent the "civilized" patriots from appearing "in public"—well, that is how you get Zhirinovskiy....

The LDPR's "own" constituency comprises not more than 10 percent and not less than 5 percent, the rest has been handed to it by the authorities. There are no surprises here. The democrats' tactics—to run in several blocs rather than pooling everything with Gaydar and his "Choice"—produced the expected success. Had they pooled everything with Gaydar, such a unified bloc would have hardly gained more that 30 percent of the votes; but in the event they gained twice as much because a sufficient number of people were successfully persuaded that the other democratic parties were something different from the extremely unpopular "mainstream" democrats. (One of the most comical results have been the expressions of regrets about the "split" among democrats.) Yeltsin himself is one thing, the "democrats" are something quite different. Yeltsin would win a presidential election right now, because he enjoys the support of about 30 percent of the total population and of about 40-50 percent of those who go to vote. Without Yeltsin, the "democrats" can count on just about 20 percent of the total population and on about one-third of its active section, but when the question of the threat of communist restoration is raised, this number may double because the overwhelming majority of the population are, of course, in principle "in favor of reforms" (but not in favor of "the democrats"). But Zhirinovskiy is also in favor of reforms....

[Bobrakov] What political maneuvers can be expected in the immediate future from the leaders of parties and movements? What will be the final disposition of forces in the new parliament? What will be the future of parliament in general?

[Volkov] This is not a very interesting subject to discuss because, under the Constitution which was adopted (thanks, incidentally, to Zhirinovskiy), parliament will hardly mean anything. There will be a lot of noise, there will be merriment, and many are already preparing for some decent amusement. It is obvious that, without the LDPR, the Communists will be unable to block a single decision. As regards the LDPR itself, provided it displays loyalty to Yeltsin (unless he behaves the way the mass media did in the first few days after the elections), Zhirinovskiy is hardly likely to fall out with the president. So far he has been on Yeltsin's side at the most critical times—on the question of disbanding the Supreme Soviet, on the question of the Constitution—and people prefer to bashfully "overlook" this.

As a matter of fact, Yeltsin gained the most from the election results. Some people were getting ready to write him off and contest the presidential seat, but now it is obvious that they would not get anywhere without him, he remains their sole protection.

Of course, not a single democrat would be willing to cooperate with the LDP, but this is what will happen objectively if they want to pursue the reforms and if the reforms are indeed the main issue for them. The Communists will be against, whatever happens. There are virtually no issues on which the democrats could unite with today's Communists against the LDPR. But there is nothing to prevent Zhirinovskiy uniting with the reds. And he will certainly do so if the campaign against the LDPR does not cease.

[Bobrakov] How about trying to look a little further into the future? How do you, in general outline, imagine the development of the system of the country's political administration, and the future of Russia as a whole?

[Volkov] I am convinced that if Russia remains in existence it will, sooner or later, return to the path of natural development, and that legal continuity as regards historical Russia will be restored.

Proper political activity is only just beginning. Genuine figures and parties, unassociated with the Soviet past, are only just emerging. I do not think that they could be "benched" for any length of time in the conditions of a normal democratic process. After the third of fourth election they will succeed in gaining a fitting place in the political spectrum and will determine Russia's state development. They do not even have to win the majority of votes—if we assume that the "democratic Russians" win 40 percent and the "red-browns" win another 40 percent, the decision in each specific instance will actually depend on the remaining 20 percent.

But if this process is thwarted and an "executive authority" remains in power over the next 15-20 years, the return to the natural path of development will be secured by someone from that environment (maybe even faster than through the sequence of parliamentary elections). Because, as a rule, the realization of the need for such a return dawns more quickly on would-be "autocrats" and the victor is the one who manages to effect it earlier and more successfully.

At the risk of dissociating myself from the panic chorus, I would dare to assert that Zhirinovskiy will never become president and the LDPR will never gain more than 30-40 percent of the votes, just as the Communists will never regain power peacefully, running under their own name.

At present, there are three possible options:

1. The presidential power will learn the lesson it has been taught, it will realize what are the population's more or less true feelings, and it will find it better to evolve in the direction of more appropriately meeting the country's state interests, without letting itself be overtaken by the "patriotic" horse.

2. It will succumb to pressure from the "democratic Russians" and will ostentatiously back the bankrupt "Russia's Choice" as the sole "correct" party, bringing itself face to face with the need to disband parliament

again, considerably reducing in the process its chances of enjoying the Army's support in the event of fresh actions by national-bolsheviks.

3. It will let the radical democrats in parliament sort themselves out with the LDPR and the Communists, while it relies on pragmatic-patriotic elements in the government.

The third option is most likely to succeed, because at present the government circles contain the largest number of realistic people whose position was also objectively consolidated as a result of the elections, and there has been a significant enhancement of their role as a balancing force.

Structure of Federal Assembly Staff Criticized

MK3112112093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Dec 93 p 2

[Report by M. Speranskiy, independent expert, under the "Parliament" rubric: "A Structure That Will Not Work. A Few Bureaucratic Puzzles"]

[Text] "I feel sorry for this parliament" is what one is tempted to exclaim, rephrasing Vereshchagin from "The White Sun of the Desert" [a Russian customs officer from a movie about the civil war set in Central Asia, who keeps saying "I feel sorry for this State"], as one looks at the provisional structure of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly's staff. Under the current Russian Federation Constitution, the parliament's chambers are completely independent of each other in their activity. For unknown reasons, however, the chambers' staffs turned out to be directly subordinated to the chief of staff of the Federal Assembly, and also to his deputies. Also effectively subordinated to the chief of staff are the reception rooms of the Federation Council's and the State Duma's chiefs, along with all staff structures of the Federal Assembly in general. To whom the chief of staff is subordinated and by whom he is appointed, the above structure does not clarify.

But this is only half of the trouble. The parliament is completely devoid of analytical services. The staff's entire activity for the most part boils down to purely technical processing of documents. This is what will be the main scope of the Information-Technological Support Administration's activity, which accounts for over half of the staff's personnel—272 people. What do the administration's services include? A Department of Document Turnover Support. What is hidden behind this sophisticated name is the old general department, well known from ministers' staffs and other organizations, with those same old functions. A Protocol Department, in charge of the purely technical procedure of registering parliamentary documents. An Information-Technical Department, primarily servicing electronic voting systems. What is the reason for bringing the above departments together, given that both chambers plan to have their own registers of clerical work and their own voting systems? It is not clear. However, there will be yet more unclear matters. The Information-Technological Support Administration is an eclectic mixture of services diverse in their objectives and functions. They include libraries, the editorial- printing department, the department of control and verification, and so forth. Why should they have been brought together under one administration chief? It would be logical to presume that someone needed yet another high-ranking office, and badly so. A faint hint of a semblance of an information-expert service—the Information-Legal Department, which is part of the same administration—has only 19 staffers. This is for a Federal Assembly with over 600 deputies. Apparently, the department's work will be as "effective" as that of another division, the International Cooperation Department, designed to provide support for the deputy corps' international contacts, with a staff of 20 people. It is obviously planned that it will be made up only of geniuses. This is unlikely because geniuses have already been absorbed by commercial businesses, but given that the International Cooperation Department is an integral part of the secretariat of the Federal Assembly's chief of staff, it will be able to forge international ties for its chief even at this strength. What will be more difficult, however, is to do so for the deputies.

Let us proceed further along the wiring diagram. A Development Administration is to be set up. I wonder what or whom it is going to develop? And so forth.

Most important, the total number of the staff's personnel is set at 537 people. There is no need to argue that this is clearly not enough. Apparently, the architects of this structure proceeded from the desire to save as much Russian taxpayers' money as possible by cutting down on the staff. One can recommend yet another method of saving to them—not to create a staff at all. All the more so because given its numbers and its structure, the staff will be simply unable to give deputies any substantive support in performing their duties provided for in the new Constitution.

A deputy has the right to retain three aides, who, according to the concept, must work at a committee on which the deputy is sitting, and, accordingly, in his faction and his district. It is they who will have to conduct the bulk of analytical and other studies. Isn't it too much of a good thing?

It is clear that deputies cannot do with this number of aides, especially when they deal with narrowly professional subjects. In our view, it is essential to set up faction staffs and to create secretariats of sorts in committees and commissions with organizational and technical functions, while leaving analytical studies to the factions. It is also necessary to set up specialized research divisions of the entire parliament capable of conducting politically neutral and objective analyses of subjects under discussion. It would also be important to set up deputy commissions supervising the activity of both the chambers' joint staff and the staff of the entire parliament.

The above structure is provisional in its very name. I wish its time would pass faster, for, as the ancients used to say, there is nothing more permanent than the temporary.

[Article includes the following boxed passage]

Provisional Structure of the Staff of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly

The staff includes a total of 537 people

Chief of Staff of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly

Two Deputy Chiefs of Staff of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly

Secretariat of the Federation Council of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly, 70 people

Chief of Secretariat

Secretariat of the State Duma of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly, 76 people

Information-Technological Support Administration, 272 people

Administration Chief

Economic Department, 55 people

Personnel Department, 11 people

Secretariat of the Chief of Staff of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly, 36 people

Development Service, 7 people

Press Service, 7 people

RMDR Proposes 'Democratic Alternative' Reform Platform

PM3112171993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Dec 93 First Edition p 8

["Statement of the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms Electoral Association"]

[Text] The Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms [RMDR] expresses sincere thanks to the voters who cast their votes for the movement's federal list.

The RMDR thanks those independent candidates and representatives of the Russian Free Labor Party and other public associations and trade unions who agreed to contest the elections together with it.

The movement expresses special gratitude to its activists who bore the full burden of the election campaign on their shoulders and also to those entrepreneurs who supported the RMDR with their financial resources.

The movement cordially congratulates all Russians whatever their political persuasions on the new year, 1994, and sincerely wishes them peace, harmony, happiness, and prosperity.

Russia has had a referendum and its first multiparty elections.

We are satisfied that the voters approved the state's new Constitution, which is what the RMDR actively urged the country's citizens to do.

The elections to the Federal Assembly are of no less significance. For the first time in many years the representative power in the state has become directly dependent on the will and opinions of millions of voters.

The historic significance of these events should not be underestimated.

Undoubtedly, the lack of experience of multiparty elections in society was bound to have an impact on the results of the voting. However, this cannot be an excuse for the attacks on democracy on the part of those political forces which were unhappy with the election results.

Our movement assesses the results of the elections in a balanced and sober way. By operating alone in the election marathon the RMDR could not surmount the 5-percent barrier and will be represented in the State Duma only by deputies elected in single-seat districts. But the more than 2 million votes cast for the movement's federal list are eloquent testimony to the fact that in its less than two years' existence the RMDR has become an influential political force in Russia.

Looking to the future with confidence, the RMDR openly and honestly tells all the voters in the country that neither the platforms of the progovernment election blocs nor the platforms of the opposition forces will resolve Russia's pressing problems. Thus the most urgent task today is to elaborate a platform for transformations meeting the interests of the majority of the country's citizens.

We urge all democratic forces not connected with the government to begin talks on the coordination of a single new reform platform—the "Democratic Alternative."

The people must know that not all democrats see the solution to the crisis through mass bankruptcies, unemployment, the depreciation of savings, the selling off of plants and stores on the cheap, disregard of the problems of preserving Russia's scientific and technical potential and saving its culture, and kowtowing to the West.

The people must also know that they are not rigidly restricted in their choice solely to the following alternatives: a futile return to the past; a set of secuctively simple but unrealistic and often very dangerous solutions; or an improved course of shock therapy.

Those 50 million voters who did not take part in the present elections and whose votes may decide the outcome of future elections must surely know that too.

LDPR Favors General Amnesty for Any Convicted Coup Plotters

LD3112174393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1631 GMT 31 Dec 93

[Text] As the State Duma goes into its first session on January 11, the Liberal Democrats intend to press for general amnesty to any one sentenced on political or economic charges starting from April 15, 1985, LDP [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] leaders said in Moscow on Friday [31 December].

The LDP which won over 20 percent of the vote in this month's elections, more than any other party, will hold 60 seats in the new Russian parliament.

The LDP proposes that the trial over members of the 1991 coup attempt be ceased and criminal charges lifted against anyone taking part in this October's events including the siege and defence of the White House and other facilities.

It also wants leaders of the parliamentary revolt, now at Moscow's Lefortovo prison, to be placed under house arrest with some of them barred from any political activity for a period of three years.

The measure must be seen as a step on the way to public unity, the LDP statement says.

Zhirinovskiy Profiled as No Mere 'Puppet'

PM3012153093 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 30 Dec 93 pp 4-5

[Article by Professor M. Reshetnikov and analyst V. Vasilyev under the "Analytical Research" rubric: "Democracy. National-Populism. Extremism. Fascism? Problems of Spiritual Leadership"]

[Excerpts] **Facts: Known and Hypothetical. Historical Notes, No. 1**

Vladimir Volfovich Zhirinovskiy was born 25 April 1946 in the capital of Kazakhstan, Alma-Ata (now Almaty), to the family of an office worker; he was the family's sixth child (his father died the same year). He graduated from a Russian school with rather a high standard of teaching for the Central Asian republic; during his education he displayed special aptitude for foreign languages. His personality developed in conditions where the indigenous population took priority in socioeconomic matters and Russians suffered relative discrimination in the national-territorial formations. (This was the so-called Leninist nationalities policy, the essence of which was to artificially maintain privileges for the indigenous population of the republics of the USSR in their historical territories, as camouflage for a strategic goal which was never openly proclaimed—"nonviolent creeping" Russification). He is a Russophile by conviction and mentality.

He graduated from the Moscow State University Institute of Oriental Languages (diploma with distinction) and later the Moscow State University Law Faculty (evening studies department); he speaks four foreign languages. He himself believes his personality was formed by the age of 21. In the senior grades he was described as a rather "obstinate young man."

During his studies at the Institute he spent a period in Turkey, where he was involved in an incident with the police in connection with his distributing badges depicting Soviet symbols. After graduating from the Institute he served in the Army, in the Transcaucasus Military District. On completing his service, he returned to Moscow. He worked at the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, and later at the office of the dean for work with foreign students at the higher school of the trade union movement, at the Foreign Law Collegium, and at the "Mir" Publishing House (as a legal consultant). In the Soviet period all the above posts were filled, as a rule, by a specific type of minion, although there were exceptions. He has no experience of state, administrative, economic, or management activity.

He is married, with a grown-up son, lives with his family in a two-room cooperative apartment, and his personal car is a Moskvich.

His critical attitude toward Soviet life began to develop after the age of 30. In the period of "perestroyka" he was sympathetic to the activity of M. Gorbachev and, later, B. Yeltsin. It is to this period that he dates his first signs of dissatisfaction with the reformers' activities and the awakening of the desire for active political work and for power (1990). He is not acquainted with the burden of power and responsibility, his actual administrative potential is not known, so the motive behind his desire for power may be assumed to be the desire for self-fulfillment, which, combined with a marked inclination to express opinions in a peremptory manner, could, if that desire was fulfilled, create a situation of dangerous unpredictability in his decisions of authority.

He is organizer and chairman (since 31 March 1991) of the Liberal Democratic Party of the Soviet Union (the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia], after the breakup of the USSR), which, unlike other party formations in Russia, has ancient Russian traditions and parallels in virtually all the developed countries of the world. In view of V.V. Zhirinovskiy's lack of any previous political experience, it appears highly dubious that the idea of forming this party arose spontaneously.

He is inclined toward a certain arrogance, unconventional behavior, and political risk-taking. In 1991 he was nominated by the LDPR as candidate for the post of president of the RSFSR; under the legislation existing at that time whereby candidates could be registered either by collecting 100,000 signatures or on the basis of a vote of deputies of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. He chose the

latter option for nomination and, to everyone's surprise, received 477 votes, which amounted to more than 50 percent of those present and was more than twice the number necessary to achieve nomination (213 votes). According to the participants in the vote, who were themselves stunned by these results, he impressed them by the absolutely fascinating unconventionality of his expressions and opinions and his "almost magical effect," a "fusion" of shocking peremptoriness, extreme radicalism, and unabashed self-publicity. In May 1991 the mass media described him as "an entirely unknown candidate as yet." He had not formerly belonged to any political organization or participated in elected soviet organs. At the same time he was mentioned in certain narrow circles as one of the authors of the program of the "Democratic Union," of which he was never officially a member.

In the elections for RSFSR president he received 6.2 million votes. Defeated, he announced his decision immediately to start his next election campaign, and has consistently implemented that decision since 1991, systematically addressing various population groups at rallies, in labor collectives, at higher educational establishments, etc. (As a result he was certainly the best prepared—both in terms of practical experience, and methodologically—for "surprise" parliamentary elections). He is a master of the art of persuasion and polemics. The sources of finance for a rather prolonged election campaign are unknown.

By political conviction he is a "liberal democrat" and an advocate of authoritarianism ("tough" power), including in foreign policy (while at the same time ostentatiously dissociating himself from totalitarianism, which it is hard to reconcile with his well-known public statements, for instance: "...If I become president, the Estonians will be satisfied. Those who are not satisfied will leave—for Sweden, Finland..."). According to his official statements, which are also hard to identify with the theses put forward in his public utterances, he considers himself an opponent of anticommunism and an antifascist. (Two mutually exclusive illustrations: 1. "For me, fascism is the most repulsive thing. Almost all of my father's family was shot by the fascists..." 2. "Everything will go to the devil, because the Russian people will take revenge for all those years of desecrated life, for the genocide, for all the humiliations"). He declares his commitment to the ideas of the convergence of various socioeconomic systems; he does not share the values of either socialism or capitalism. He has a complex about the "nationalities question," rooted in his early childhood. (From his school years: "...The Russian kids come crying. If he answers the question, he gets two marks. If a Kazakh answers—the same question, the same preparation—he gets four"; and another well-known example: "My mother was a Russian, my father was a lawyer").

In international relations he is inclined toward unpredictable political extremism. (Asked how he would tackle the problem of our prisoners of war held in Pakistan, he replied: "I will call the Pakistani envoy and give him 72 hours. If our Russian boys do not arrive at Sheremetyevo airport within the 72 hours, I will send the Pacific Fleet to the shores of Pakistan, and it will start by wiping Karachi off the face of the earth").

Attitude toward the family: He advocates restoring the patriarchal way of life and minimizing women's participation in public life and production work: "We would like to create a system of relations in which the man will be the head of the family." Also characteristic is the answer he gave when asked whom the LDPR is nominating for parliament: "99 percent men."

State program: Equality of all forms of ownership; an adaptable tax policy; assistance for production; state incentives for the creation of new jobs and restrictions on middlemen; abolition of national-territorial formations and the principles of promotion on ethnic grounds; restoration of the administrative division of Russia into governorates, which was introduced by Peter I and existed until 1924; and deletion of the "nationality" section from all documents, with everyone retaining equal rights to freedom of movement and the right to elect and be elected, to preserve and develop the national culture, and to decide for oneself on one's allegiance to a given culture (nation).

A point worthy of special mention is that of the expediency of maintaining a certain minimum level of unemployment as an incentive to ensure the maximum work capacity, reduce personnel turnover, and counteract strike activities by working people. He is a supporter of lockouts (the closure of enterprises and mass dismissal of workers in the event of strikes) and of encouraging strikebreaking (ending strikes by hiring workers who may be less skilled, but are more moderate in their demands).

On territorial problems, he has repeatedly put forward an idea that is irresponsible in present conditions, that of restoring a unified Russia within the 1975 borders (on the basis of the 1975 Helsinki agreement on the inviolability of the borders of states party to the agreement), which can only be assessed as total political extremism, failing to take account of the changed military-political realities and fraught with the threat of the outbreak of a series of local wars or even a new world war.

He is opposed to loans or the acceptance of any form of financial aid from the West. In 1991 he stated that in the event of his being elected president he would repay no debts to anyone: "Let those who borrow, pay" (the Leninist version of nonrecognition of debts). In the light of this statement (unless it is disavowed) and the LDPR's success in the elections, major changes in the West's financial and investment policy toward Russia can be predicted in the near future.

He is a consistent advocate of unlimited power for the president, to whom the government (divorced from politics) is entirely subordinate and accountable. He participated actively in the drafting of Russia's new

(1993) Constitution, demonstrating a constructive and sensible approach that came as a surprise to many other participants in this work.

He deems it expedient to ban all types of political activity for a "transitional period."

The party's program statements and V.V. Zhirinovskiy's personal statements are in most cases effectively incompatible.

Political sympathies: Historically, Peter I. Social base and support groups: The military-industrial complex, the Army, the impoverished section of the former Soviet middle class, pensioners, a section of the working class, Russians in the nearby foreign countries, young people.

Individual characteristics: He has undoubted linguistic ability; he is resourceful, sharp-witted, and extremely emotional; he easily makes contact with any audience; he is an excellent orator and improviser; his public utterances are generally provocative; he tends toward metaphorical thinking and terse, short sentences; he has a unique personal image and a high capacity mentally to "infect" his audience; he is extremely self-confident, with a pronounced desire for recognition, insatiable self-esteem, and a high opinion of himself; he is uncritical, often to the point of irresponsibility; he virtually always speaks in the first person and never cites other authorities; his preferred conversational style is imperious. He has the capacity to transform himself with artistic virtuosity. His capacity for work is high.

He has repeatedly demonstrated a unique political intuition and a capacity to make unerring predictions whose sources can only be guessed at. Three weeks before the RSFSR presidential elections, he announced: "I will come third" (and he did come third, with 7.8 percent, whereas virtually all the analytical centers were predicting 0.5 percent); two weeks before the State Duma elections, he stated: "We will get 24 percent of the votes, not 6 percent, as some people say... There will be six factions in parliament: 'Russia's Choice,' the agrarians, the 'Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin' faction, Shakhray's party, the Communists, and us." (SANKT-PETERBURGSKIYE VEDOMOSTI, 24 November 1993). The figures were predicted with absolute accuracy, and the list of blocs omitted two which only collected the necessary minimum with difficulty.

He participated actively in the drafting of the new Russian Federation Constitution and in the mass campaign for its adoption.

He has repeatedly been the target of attempts to discredit him; among other things, he was said to be a KGB agent (officially refuted by the KGB in a special statement on 28 August 1991). In the election period he was in effect beyond the criticism of the main parties and blocs, and since the elections he has been described in a number of the mass media and in statements by political figures as a fascist. [passage omitted defining liberalism as historical tradition, chronicling development of political turmoil which set tone of election campaign] **Historical Notes, No. 3**

Populism: A transitional type of political consciousness which emerges at turning points in history, when the old (obsolete) foundations have already been destroyed but the new ones have yet to be formed. The first mention (the movement of the "populares [people's party]") goes back to the first and second centuries B.C. and is characterized by the expression of the interests of the common people (the plebs) by the nobility (the sympathetic aristocracy). It was revived in the United States in the late 19th century in the form of the Populist Party.

Its chief sign is the emergence of populist figures, whose typical characteristic is: Direct contact between leaders who have a marked capacity to influence people's minds and hearts, with an orientation primarily toward the least adaptable (to change) social groups, whose vital interests are damaged.

Populist thinking is marked by utopian irrationality, simplistic pragmatism, an uncritical faith in economic and political panaceas (the confidence that one or several simple measures can radically change the entire socioeconomic situation for the better), and also typical notions of various social cataclysms as the consequence of a conspiracy by external forces.

In the sphere of political actions, populism takes the form of acts of civil disobedience, protests, and "campaigns" directed against power structures.

Extremism: An adherence to extreme views and methods. Political extremism is the desire to achieve an objective by the use of the most radical methods, including all forms of violence and terror, going beyond the bounds of the generally accepted norms and principles of international relations. The basis for the development of extremist manifestations is provided by various kinds of deformation of political structures and institutions, errors and miscalculations in the pursuit of ecological, social, or nationalities policy, slowness in carrying out urgently needed changes, and misdemeanors in the activity of organs responsible for economic and legal regulation.

Fascism: A political current which emerged during a period of socioeconomic crisis in the early 20th century and expressed the interests of the most reactionary circles of the haute bourgeoisie. It differs from other reactionary dictatorships in having broad links with a fairly large active section of the population which does not belong to the ruling classes, and in having the capacity to mobilize and politically galvanize that section of the population in its own interests. The chief social base is the petite and moyenne bourgeoisie, declasse and criminal elements, and backward strata of the working people. Characteristic features: The use of

extreme forms of violence, state regulation of the economy, chauvinism, racism, and nationalist myth-making.

Commentary

Anyone who has carefully studied the definitions cited, and still more anyone who has directly encountered V.V. Zhirinovskiy, will probably agree that the statements of certain politicians regarding his fascism are premature at the moment. But we have deliberately arranged the above-mentioned definitions in a certain order so as to ensure that both the origins and the sliding borders between the first, second, and third [populism, extremism, and fascism] are sufficiently clear.

Russian nationalism, which was silent for so long and of which so much has been said in this article, which is—once again—inherent in and therefore certainly impacts on the main bulk of the population, has, in the specific economic conditions of the disintegration of the unitary state and the difficulties of the transitional period, engendered a fundamentally new phenomenon—national-populism. What it turns into in future will of course depend both on our politicians and on the mass media, which have yet to show much inclination for considered, substantiated assessments. But to an even greater extent its hard-to-predict dynamic development will be determined by the realism and social orientation of economic and political programs, and also by the factor of the population's involvement in their implementation in meaningful terms.

Conclusions

V.V. Zhirinovskiy is undoubtedly a talented and gifted man, but it is absolutely clear to any professional that for all his "multifunctionality" and huge capacity for work, it would have been beyond his powers single-handedly to tackle simultaneously and with such a high degree of skill the program tasks, analytical and forecasting tasks, and practical tasks.

V.V. Zhirinovskiy, however attractive this simple view may seem, is certainly not the puppet of the forces behind him, he is an independent and active participant in the process that is being pursued, and is clearly and soberly aware of what is going on. His role in this process is far from unequivocal, and simplistic assessments of that role, including hysterics and the pinning of labels, are not permissible.

Unlike the very serious and highly significant, but as yet unconfirmed, information on Operation "Werewolf" [said to be Zhirinovskiy's election campaign plan], statements about some kind of special hypnotic technique simply do not stand up to criticism. It is simultaneously far simpler and far more complex than that.

Media Issues

Journalists Replace Government as ROSSISKIYE VESTI Founder

PM3012195193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 31 Dec 93 p 1

[Report on decision adopted by 29 December meeting of ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI journalists collective: "Our Newspaper's Journalists Are Now ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI's Founders Themselves"]

[Text] Yesterday there was a meeting of the journalists collective at the ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI editorial office. After discussing the situation which has developed in relations between the newspaper and its founder, the former Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, the meeting adopted the following decision:

On 23 December 1993 B. Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, signed Edict No. 2277 "On the Transformation and Reorganization of the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation." Part four of Article 18 of the Russian Federation Law "On the Mass Media" says that "in the event of the abolition or reorganization of the founder—an association of citizens, enterprise, institution, or state organ—the founder's rights and duties shall pass in their entirety to the editorial office unless otherwise specified by the charter of the editorial office." The Interim Charter of the editorial office which is in force at the present moment makes no other provision.

The meeting states that the former Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, as founder of the newspaper, has not fulfilled its statutory obligations with regard to assisting the work of the editorial office and providing it with information at its disposal. On the contrary, the chief editor and journalists have been impeded in the performance of their professional duty by workers of the government apparatus. In particular, the decree on the ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI editorial office, which would have enabled it to work normally, and the new editorial charter have been held up within that apparatus for a long time now. Attempts are being made to get rid of an editor who is proving unsuitable. Criticism of the government will not be accepted. It has reached the point where certain apparatus workers have stated that the newspaper is "antigovernment." On the other hand, while remaining formally a government publication, the newspaper was considerably restricted in its actions, and the image of being an obedient semi-official publication, albeit an unjust image, had an adverse effect on its standing.

The meeting considers that by becoming an independent publication but preserving in full the newspaper's profile as an all-Russia daily which covers questions of Russia's state life first and foremost, keep readers informed about the actions of the authorities, and monitors them on

society's behalf, ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI will be able to perform its social role considerably more freely and professionally.

On that basis the meeting of the journalists collective of the editorial office resolves:

1 That in connection with the reorganization of the founder of the newspaper and on the basis of part four of Article 18 of the Russian Federation Law "On the Mass Media," the newspaper's editorial office in the form of its journalists collective shall be considered the founder of ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI.

2. That the "Interim Charter of the Editorial Office of the RSFSR Council of Ministers weekly ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI," which has operated since February 1991, shall be considered inoperative.

3. That a new charter is to be adopted for the editorial office of the sociopolitical daily newspaper ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI.

4. That the newspaper ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI is to be registered at the Ministry of the Press and Information (the Committee for the Press) with its editorial office as founder.

5. The Ministry of the Press and Information (the Committee for the Press) is to be asked to approve the ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI editorial office Charter.

6. The decision of the journalists collective of 21 December 1993 on confidence in ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI chief editor V.N. Kucher is to be confirmed.

[signed] P. Shinkarenko, chairman of the meeting
N. Kudryashov, secretary
[Dated] 29 December 1993

[The back-page box of editorial information in the 31 December edition includes the notation "Founder: The Journalists Collective of the Editorial Office"; referent item explains how 29 December edition dropped the "Founder: Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation" notation which had been present prior to that date]

Further on ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI

LD3012221193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Dec 93

[By correspondent V. Skvortsov including recorded remarks by V. Kucher, editor in chief of ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Skvortsov] Without waiting for New Year's eve, when the old and unnecessary are thrown away, our fellow journalists at the newspaper ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI have freed themselves from the intrusive stewardship of their masters, the Council of Ministers.

[Kucher] I will be honest about this. We have taken advantage of an edict by President Boris Yeltsin about reorganizing the government, and which has brought us an unexpected New Year's present. According to Clause 4 of Article 18 of the Law on the Press, if a founder is reorganized, then all rights are transferred to its successor at the newspaper, which is the work force.

We held a meeting of journalists yesterday, and we became founders of the newspaper. We are profoundly convinced that if Russia is becoming a truly democratic state, then there should be no newspapers speaking in the name of the state or newspapers working under the diktat of any state authorities. Newspapers should perform another vital function: Supervision of the authorities by society.

[Skvortsov] They plan to solve the problem of finance themselves, with only part coming from the state budget.

[Kucher] We were not building up a newspaper business. We felt like a castrated tom cat in the hands of a rich boss.

[Skvortsov] We will find out the government's reaction to this breakaway next year.

PRAVDA Prepared To Join Newspaper Strike

PM3112105993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Vadim Gorshenin: "PRAVDA Prepared To Join Strike"]

[Text] After the destruction of the Supreme Soviet and the abolition of the Security Ministry it is the press' turn to face heavy shelling. If the Chernomyrdin government decree is fulfilled prices for newspapers will increase substantially. Yesterday your PRAVDA correspondent got in touch with Ivan Laptev, president of the association of chief editors and publishers.

"I should like to draw the attention of PRAVDA employees and readers," Ivan Dmitriyevich stated. "It is not a case of dependent or independent publications—it was a case of the economic stifling of the entire press. And unless the president and government repeal decree no. 1233, then soon we shall have only memories of the press. Incidentally, I should like to note that the decision which has been taken discredits the new Constitution, especially article 29."

For our readers' information. PRAVDA, like many other Russian newspapers, states its readiness also to suspend the production of its publication from 10 through 17 January in protest against one more government pogrom.

Communications Aide Cites 1994 Press Subscription Data

PM3112172793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Dec 93 p 1

[Interview with Vladimir Shelikhov, deputy general director of the Russian Federation Federal Postal Communications Administration, by Ruslan Ignatyev; place and date not given: "Subscription-94 Results Summarized"]

[Text] The subscription campaign for newspapers and magazines for the first half of 1994 has ended. ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA correspondent Ruslan Ignatyev asked Vladimir Shelikhov, deputy general director of the Russian Federation Federal Postal Communications Administration, to talk about its final results.

Subscriptions for the first half of 1994 amounted to over 61.5 million copies of various publications. This represents 73.5 percent of the figure for the first half of 1993. In the opinion of Russian Communications Ministry specialists, the crisis of the press is over and it is not anticipated that subscriptions will fall to a low level in the future.

The structure of the present subscription is interesting. Over half the present total circulation figure is accounted for by newspapers—43.6 million copies. As we expected, readers have shown great interest in local publications—the latter account for 25.2 million copies. The circulation of central newspapers is 18.1 million. Local publications have virtually maintained their 1993 circulation. Central publications have lost one-third of their subscribers. The circulation of magazines continues to decline. The level of subscriptions there is 95.6 percent of the level for the second half of 1993.

Now let us cite figures for subscriptions to the most popular publications (leaving aside PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, and some others for which figures will be provided later).

ARGUMENTY I FAKTY—5.5 million
TRUD—1.5 million
ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA—1.03 million
KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA—871,000
IZVESTIYA—435,500
PIONERSKAYA PRAVDA—134,500
MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI—120,000
LITERATURNAYA GAZETA—81,500
NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA—29,000
SEGODNYA—15,600
NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA—15,500
OBSHCHAYA GAZETA—13,000
VEK—3,000

[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI's front-page new year greetings to readers includes the information that "The number of subscribers to the newspaper has increased 12-fold and its circulation will now be 600,000."]

Chief Editor Outlines 1994 Publishing Plans

PM3112185193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Dec 93 p 1

[Message to readers from Chief Editor Natalya Polezhayeva: "What Is in Store for You? A Nonfuturologist's Forecast for Readers of Our Newspaper"]

[Text] As the New Year approaches, it is customary to make predictions. This time we will dispense with futurologists, fortune-tellers, and psychics. No one apart from us can say what is in store for you, our readers, in the pages of ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in 1994.

As an official organ, the newspaper will continue to keep you acquainted with all official documents—laws, edicts, decrees, directives, and statutes. In the new year this list will grow. We plan to print the most important draft legislative acts as well as departmental instructions, recommendations [ukazaniye], and clarifications. We will begin prompt publication of collections of documents in the series entitled "ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA Library" [Biblioteka Rossiyskoy Gazety].

The newspaper will be paying special attention to privatization. Beginning in January, two special editions will be published at regular intervals with information on investment funds and property funds. They will be useful to enterprises, entrepreneurs, and ordinary share holders, in other words to all of us. In addition, in the new year ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA subscribers in central regions will receive each week a free color supplement on special topics. The first will be "ROSSIYSKAYA NEDVIZHIMOST" [Russian Real Estate].

The editorial office has concluded a contract with the confederation of consumer societies. Together we will keep readers informed about commodities (quality and prices), services (from consumer services to financial services), water and air, and housing (from construction rights to rental charges).

There will be another weekly newspaper within the newspaper wholly dedicated to problems of the economy, business, and marketing.

Our country is multinational. We often talk about that but often forget about it, too. As of the new year, ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA will feature ethnic sections on the culture, daily life, language, and history of the peoples inhabiting Russia.

The newspaper's Saturday edition will be somewhat different. We can hardly produce a 16-page edition (our financial potential is not great) but we promise that on Saturdays readers will find in their newspapers scoops, scandals, crossword puzzles, and everything else which makes for light reading at weekends.

These are by no means all our plans. We shall compensate our subscribers for copies of ROSSIYSKAYA

GAZETA which they did not receive in the outgoing year by providing free inserts and supplements.

We congratulate ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA readers on the New Year! We wish you all stability, peace, health, and prosperity.

Military Issues

Yeltsin Creates Central Command for Border Troops

LD3012144193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1334 GMT 30 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 30 December—Today, Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed an edict "On the formation of the Federal Border Service-Central Command of the Russian border troops." The ITAR-TASS correspondent learned this from Colonel Yevgeniy Znamenskiy, deputy head of the press office of the Russian border troops. The edict has been issued in connection with the dismantling of the Russian Ministry of Security and in order to ensure continuity of command of the Russian border troops.

The representative of the press office has also reported that under the decree, the Federal Border Service-Central Command of the Russian border troops is to a have a status equivalent to that of a Federal ministry and to operate in direct subordination to the Russian president and government. Colonel General Andrey Nikolayev has been appointed the commander in chief of Russia's border troops.

Signs Edict on Awards for Border Guards

LD3112131793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 31 Dec 93

[Text] In the run up to the new year, Russian President Boris Yeltsin has signed an edict on state awards for border guards. There were 31 privates and officers awarded personal bravery decorations for the bravery they showed while carrying out their military duty to guard the state borders, and 67 people were awarded medals for courage.

Expands Draft Exemption Edict

PM3112142193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Important Addition"]

[Text] The Russian Federation president has added to point 1 of his 2 October 1993 edict no. 1573 "on the draft to military service of Russian Federation citizens who have reached draft age and are studying in daytime departments at general education establishments providing initial and secondary vocational education" the following paragraph:

"Deferment from the draft to military service is provided for their entire period of study for Russian Federation citizens who have reached the age of 18 and are studying in daytime departments of secondary specialized educational establishments of civil aviation and maritime and river transport under the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation Ministry of Transport."

Grachev Holds Meeting With Journalists

LD3012181193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Aleksandr Pelts: "Lessons for the Future. Defense Minister Army General Pavel Grachev Has Held His Traditional Meeting With Journalists"]

[Text] As KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already reported, this was the final meeting of the current year. So there was frank discussion about practically all questions of the life and daily activity of the Russian Armed Forces.

First of all the defense minister stressed that the outgoing year of 1993 has certainly been extremely complex for the Army from all viewpoints. It has been a year whose lessons require the most serious analysis.

The most important point is that this year the Army has played an important role in preserving Russia's integrity and security. Metaphorically speaking, it has had to clear away the obstructions created as a result of the political confrontation in the country. The Army, Pavel Grachev stressed, wants just one thing: the maximum harmony in society and state stability. Any other speculations regarding its role in society are impermissible and extremely dangerous.

In what kind of shape is the Russian Army as it prepares to enter the new year of 1994? It is more cohesive and stronger than ever. In the outgoing year it proved possible to put a stop once and for all to many negative trends and to create good groundwork for the future. The reform of the Army, the minister stressed, is going according to plan, in a calm workmanlike atmosphere.

The Russian Army currently has 2.3 million men. Over the last 18 months it has decreased by almost 0.5 million. This process will continue, but there will be no precipitate [obvalnyy] reduction, Grachev stressed. He also advocated that the size of the Russian Army be kept at approximately the current level, since the earlier parliamentary decision on an Army of 1.5 million is clearly at odds with the scale of the tasks that it is resolving.

This year around 640,000 servicemen, over 30,000 tanks, 9,000 artillery systems, over 4,000 aircraft and helicopters, 46 divisions, 64 brigades, and 90 air regiments have been withdrawn from the East European countries and nearby foreign lands. The withdrawal of troops from Czechoslovakia [as published], Hungary, Poland, Mongolia, Lithuania, and Cuba has been completed. This process took place within an extremely tight time frame, the minister stressed.

Concerning questions of troop combat training, Pavel Grachev stressed that, despite many difficulties, here too it has been possible to retain a planned and systematic approach. The necessary training exercises for command personnel have been held and command-staff and regional exercises have taken place. These showed that the troops are at an adequate level of combat readiness and can resolve all the tasks entrusted to them.

Of course, the most painful questions in the Army and in society as a whole are problems of social protection. But even in these conditions, when the Defense Ministry is literally having to "fight" to secure everything necessary for the needs of the Army and servicemen, it has been possible to do a considerable amount.

The most important thing is housing, of course. Some 120,000 servicemen currently need a roof over their heads. The Defense Ministry channels 75 percent of the money allocated for capital construction into the construction of housing. Through its own efforts around 62,000 apartments were constructed in 1993. This figure will go up by a further 30 percent in the new year. In addition, Pavel Grachev named yet another reason why it has so far not been possible to solve this extremely acute social problem. Local administrations have allocated only 12 percent of the planned volume of housing.

The defense minister devoted much attention to questions of manpower acquisition for the forces. After noting the difficulties with the draft at the start of this year, he stressed that the situation is now more stable. There is still a shortage in many units, but the measures that have been taken have made it possible to avoid the worst-case forecasts. He noted the improvement in the work of military commissariats and local administrations in the Transbaykal, Far Eastern, North Caucasus, and Volga Military Districts. As of now draft manpower levels are 60 percent of what is required.

Concerning contract service, the defense minister noted a number of difficulties. In his view, it is worrying that contract servicemen are more willing to accept posts in the rear while there are far fewer who want to go to the front line and join combat units. Nevertheless, 123,000 servicemen have now signed contracts. This figure will certainly increase in the new year.

Journalists also wanted to know about Russia's relations with NATO.

"Our relations," the defense minister stressed, "must be more meaningful and develop across a broad spectrum of collaboration." He also announced the creation of a group of experts which is to submit as early as the beginning of 1994 a joint plan for military-political and military cooperation between Russia and NATO.

Army General Pavel Grachev answered many questions from journalists during the press conference. The frankness of the answers, including those to so-called "awkward" questions, should be emphasized. However, the minister did not duck these questions; what is more, he not only gave clear and precise answers but also found the opportunity for a broader and franker exchange of opinions.

In conclusion Army General Pavel Grachev addressed new year greetings to all servicemen, members of their families, and veterans: "I would sincerely like to express the wish that you will feel confidence in the future in the new year. May peace and tranquillity come to every home. May all the hopes of people in uniform for a better, quieter, worthier, and happier life come true."

Said Dissatisfied With Generals

LD0101103094 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 1 Jan 94

[Text] Dozens of generals' posts are to be cut in the Russian Ministry of Defense Main Personnel Directorate. According to ITAR-TASS, on the eve of the new year, Defense Minister Pavel Grachev expressed dissatisfaction with the directorate's activity at a meeting with journalists. In his opinion, under new conditions many personnel officers in generals' positions are still doing everything in an old-fashioned way, trying to work less with the soldiers and looking after higher command personnel better. At the same time the head of the military department was not uncomplimentary about the lower echelons of the army personnel department, which work with sergeants and other ranks. The reform will not affect the interests of this category of officer.

Delivers New Year's Greetings

LD0101221394 Moscow Radio Moscow in Russian to Tajikistan 1900 GMT 1 Jan 94

[New Year's message by Defense Minister Pavel Grachev; from the "Radio Slavyanka" program of the Russian Defense Ministry—recorded]

[Text] I would like to pass on my New Year's greetings to all the servicemen of the Russian Armed Forces. They are carrying out their military service today under very difficult conditions. Let all the hopes of the people in epaulettes for an improved, calmer, dignified, and happier life come true. I sincerely wish all the families of servicemen and veterans of the armed forces confidence in tomorrow in the New Year. I extend special gratitude to all the servicemen who are at present courageously, I may say, selflessly carrying out their duties in the hot spots.

May 1994 bring peace, quiet, and confidence in the future into each home. May all the bitterness with which the departing year was filled remain in the past, and may shots never ring out in our towns. I wish all citizens of Russia good health, happiness, love of life, and optimism in the New Year.

Defense Ministry: Semipalatinsk Commander Not Dismissed

PM3012190993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Dec 93 p 3

[Report by Russian Federation Defense Ministry Information and Press Directorate: "Not Removed from Duties"]

[Text] The report carried by certain mass media that Lieutenant General Yuriy Konovalenko, commander of the Russian military unit temporarily stationed on the territory of the former Semipalatinsk test range, has been removed from his post does not accord with the facts.

As a Russian citizen and serviceman of the Russian Armed Forces he cannot be removed from his post by decision of another country's leadership.

Yu. Konovalenko is currently on leave.

Missile Cruiser Admiral Fokin Decommissioned

LD3012135393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1135 GMT 30 Dec 93

[Text] The St. Andrew flag was put down in the Admiral Fokin missile cruiser. The press office of the Kamchatka flotilla said that the ship was written off.

The cruiser was built in Leningrad in 1960 and has been in service since June 1963. Within the 30 years it made 14 distant voyages. The ship will most probably be sold for scrap.

Army's New Military Emblem Unveiled

LD3012204693

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1800 GMT on 30 December broadcasts an item in the "Novosti" newscast in which Aleksandr Ukhov reports from Moscow that the Russian Army will be getting a new emblem next year. The Moscow Ostankino channel presents what it calls "the first pictures" of the new emblem.

Ukhov says that the Russian Defense Ministry recently organized a competition for a new emblem for the Russian Army. Almost 300 proposals were submitted for consideration. The results of the competition have recently been announced. The new emblem will consist of a crowned double-headed eagle holding a laurel wreath and sword. On an inset shield mounted on the eagle's chest a horseman can be seen killing a dragon. The eagle clutches the Russian national flag and the St. Andrew's flag in its claws.

A brief interview with V.N.Medvedev, head of the insignia department of the Ministry of Defense General Staff Headquarters, is then shown. He says: "There are plans for placing this unified emblem of the Russian Armed Forces on military uniforms, banners of military units, military and navy flags, identification marks on military equipment, documents and identity cards."

Economic Issues

Finance Minister Fedorov Views '93 Economic Policy

LD0201091094 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 2 Jan 94

[Text] In the opinion of Russian Finance Minister Boris Fedorov, the government succeeded in pursuing a consistent financial policy in 1993. In an interview with the Russian media, he announced that over the last year prices had gone up nine-fold. Let me remind you, in 1992 they went up by 26 times. Moreover, they are quickly approaching world prices at present and this means the end of prosperity for low-effective enterprises. Boris Fedorov noted as a positive element the fact that it proved possible in 1993 to stop a flow of unjustified subsidies and credits to CIS countries. At the same time, the interest rates were considerably increased and privileges for non-effective enterprises reduced. This has led to an improved protection of the savings of the population and enterprises against inflation.

Gaydar Says Import Tariffs Deferred Until March

PM3012140393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 30 Dec 93 p 1

["At the Center of Attention" news column report]

[Text] There will be no introduction of import tariffs on goods from 1 January 1994, Yegor Gaydar, first vice premier of the Russian Federation stated. The corresponding government decree has been deferred for further processing, and it is planned to introduce import tariffs from 1 March. At the same time Ye. Gaydar stressed that the bulk of goods and agricultural produce comes onto the Russian market from the CIS countries, with the majority of which free trade agreements exist. No duties will be introduced on these goods and products.

Gaydar Interviewed on Outlook for Economy

LD3012161493

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1330 GMT on 30 December carries an interview with First Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar by Arkadiy Bererov. The place and date are not given.

Gaydar begins by reviewing the performance of the economy over the past year, noting that despite the various political problems a number of tasks in the first stage of reform were solved, albeit slowly, by the end of 1993. The volume of subsidies for agricultural production has been sharply reduced of late, and a single customs tariff will be enforced from 1 January. A new system of financing and boosting investments has been

prepared, which will comprise the gradual redistribution of budget allocations to support enterprises and social programs as well as family benefits, pension reform, and gradual preparation for introducing benefits for the less well-off sections of the population. Small business will be encouraged. "In short, we are trying to put together a foundation that will ensure stable economic growth," Gaydar notes. He goes on to say that there should be "a gradual reduction in the rate of inflation in 1994 to about 5-7 percent by the end of the year." It will be a year of "a gradual fading away of the slump in production, which may be basically eliminated some time around the end of the fourth quarter, and the creation of preconditions for stable growth in 1995." But, Gaydar says, one must naturally be apprehensive after the political damage incurred in trying to solve anti-inflation tasks in the recent period, and this must be avoided in the coming year.

Gaydar goes on to say that unemployment has not risen in the Baltic republics either because a similar set of employment-protection measures is in effect both there and in Russia. "I will, therefore, say that provided there is a sensible scenario of monetary policy, I do not envisage a sudden incredible rise in unemployment—not in 1994 at least. It will rise gradually."

Regarding inflation, Gaydar describes as soft and consistent a policy that aims at bringing inflation down from 12 percent this December to 5-7 percent in the last quarter of 1994, the goal of which is to gradually remove financial disproportions and create prerequisites for stopping price rises.

Prospects for '94

LD0101234794 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2100 GMT 1 Jan 94

[Interview with Economy Minister Yegor Gaydar by Tatyana Chemodanova; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Chemodanova] Yegor Timurovich, what are your views on Russia in the new year?

[Gaydar] Well, about the Russian economy next year. In principle it depends on the economic and political conclusions that are drawn from the 1993 events. In our economy 1993 was a year of the gradual formation of market relations structures, of very slow progress, of vacillations and inconsistency. In spite of the mild policy our opponents were not strong enough to decisively and consistently switch our economy onto a course, lets say, of restoration of traditional mechanisms, or even to the Ukrainian course of development. We did not have enough power and opportunities to consistently accomplish the policy of reforms.

At present we are at the crossroads. Naturally, one can get scared once more, and, naturally, one can now choose a course of fueling inflation, masking it with words about the need to support industry structures, [words indistinct] and so on. Then in the spring inflation will gradually gain momentum and by summer it will once again reach an extremely high level. After that it will turn out that it is very hard to live in these conditions, that there is nothing nice in it, and there will be another budgetary crisis.

In short, 1994 will develop approximately along the lines of 1993. We are at the turning point. Considering the first stage as mainly completed, it possible to bring to completion the part that remains—that is the trajectory that we have consistently adopted from September when we started bringing down inflation from 29 percent to about 12 percent in December, and to continue along that line in the first six months, and on that basis gradually supplement the economic prerequisites for stable market growth.

This means a new system of financing and stimulating investments, a gradual redistribution of budget allocations from the support of enterprises to the support of social programs, a gradual widening of the range of programs that can be supported up to the already planned reform of family benefits and the pension reform that is being prepared, and gradual preparation for the introduction of benefits for the poor that will replace a large number of badly coordinated benefits.

At the same time it is increasing the efficiency of the system for encouraging small businesses which there is no sense in setting up with a monthly inflation of 25 percent. But when we are now already talking about inflation that is predicted to become less than 10 percent, those tax privileges that are, let's say, stipulated in the latest decree make sense.

In short, we must try to develop a basis that will provide stable economic growth. Then 1994 will be a year of gradual reduction of the rate of inflation, well, at least by five to seven percent per month by the end of the year, and a year of gradual reduction of the slump in industry which could be stopped in the main by around the end of the year, by the fourth quarter. It will be a year of developing preconditions for stabilizing growth in 1995. It will also be a year for the gradual development of a more or less sensible social policy and the development of prerequisites for, strictly speaking, growth.

Soskovets, Commodity Producers Discuss Protectionism

PM3112140793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 30 Dec 93 p 6

[Igor Petrov report: "The Appeal of a Foreign Label: Russian Producers Have To Counteract It"]

[Excerpts] The dearth of commodities, when all industrial goods disappear from the store shelves at whirlwind speed, seem to have gone forever. The consumer has been given an opportunity not just to take whatever is offered but to

meticulously choose exactly what he or she needs from the dozens of models and companies available.

Unfortunately, in the battle to win the customers' hearts and consequently their cash, our producers, spoiled by the former scarcity and unlimited demand, often do not look especially attractive. The workers of the "Zarya" industrial commercial footwear firm in Moscow have had a good taste of the first fruits of competition and the openness of the domestic market. Their factory has been visited by First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets who is in charge of light industry.

This factory served as the base for an exhibition-fair where contracts were signed with industrial enterprises and commercial organizations for the production and sale of footwear in 1994. And even though the goods on display at the show were the best that this country's cobblers have to offer, it was clear that they still face major marketing problems.

"There must be an on-the-spot investigation to find out just why all the stores are crammed with foreign goods at a time when we are unable to sell the goods produced by our plants," Oleg Soskovets said, explaining the purpose of his visit. [passage omitted]

After visiting the "Zarya" factory's shops and talking with workers and foremen, Oleg Soskovets held a short conference with the directors of Moscow textile and footwear enterprises. There was just one topic of discussion: What must the government do in order to remedy the situation in light industry and prevent a further slump in production which has reached almost 60 percent in the past three years.

The package of measures proposed by the directors were, generally speaking, not distinguished by their variety. It was the general opinion of enterprise directors that the overstocking of the Russian market with cheap but not always high-quality imported consumer goods is jeopardizing the very existence of the country's light industry. "There must be protective customs barriers against the import of finished goods into Russia and the export of unprocessed agricultural raw materials from the country," the production specialists stated.

"We will take care of our enterprises and create normal conditions for their work. There is no doubt about that. However, government-based protectionism must have reasonable limits. Ultimately only the customer with his rubles can properly assess the results of production collectives' work. Not just to make things but to make things that will sell—that must be the slogan of today," the first vice premier believes.

The situation in Russia's light industry was the subject of the discussion at a session of the Council of Ministers Commission on Topical Questions.

Problem of Counterfeit Money Seen Growing

PM3012152793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Feature consisting of report by INTERFAX, ITAR-TASS, and own correspondent Aleksandr Chernykh, and unattributed comment: "Draw a Million, Friend"]

[Excerpts] INTERFAX: "On 25 December a criminal gang of six Chechnya inhabitants was arrested in St. Petersburg. Some 20,000 counterfeit 50,000 ruble bank notes produced on a xerox machine with a total face value of 1 billion rubles were confiscated from them."

ITAR-TASS: "The year 1993 has been a record one in Perm Oblast in terms of the number of counterfeit bank notes which are going into circulation. The number of counterfeit notes confiscated was almost seven times greater than last year. The season was opened by Ashot Oganesyan, who already has two previous convictions, from whom 50,000 ruble [R] notes he had produced himself were confiscated. The oblast court sentenced the counterfeiter to eight years' imprisonment with the confiscation of his property. In all 10 people have been convicted of counterfeiting money this year." [ITAR-TASS report ends]

[Chernykh report begins] Tomsk—There has been a mass dumping of counterfeit R50,000 notes in Tomsk. The local law enforcement organs had already recorded instances of this kind, but not on such a scale. [passage omitted]

During the investigation it emerged that the main cache was in Novosibirsk. The Tomsk team of investigators traveled there. With the aid of their local colleagues they managed to reach the underground storehouse. When it was opened the picture was very impressive: They discovered 488 counterfeit R50,000 notes, counterfeit plates, and blank passports and identity cards. [passage omitted]

In the opinion of V.O. Grechman, first deputy chief of the Tomsk Internal Affairs Administration, the dumping of counterfeit money in Russia is a precisely planned operation at the state level. On the one hand it is designed to support Chechnya's destroyed financial system and on the other directly or indirectly to undermine Russia's economy. (Let us recall the operations involving fake advice notes which caused us losses of many billions—they came from there, from Chechnya).

Good preparation helped the Tomsk law enforcement organs halt the counterfeit money operations quite swiftly. After the "Novosibirsk cache" had been destroyed the dumping of counterfeit bank notes ceased.

But is that for long? What further inventions will the Caucasus bring us in the sphere of economic crime? [Chernykh report ends]

The number of criminal encroachments connected with the production and sale of counterfeit money has

increased 350 percent, a ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA correspondent was told at a Russian Internal Affairs Ministry [MVD] news conference. Instances of counterfeiting have been discovered in many regions of the country. Over the first five months of 1993 alone counterfeit Russian bank notes with a face value of many tens of millions of rubles were removed from circulation. There has been a marked enhancement of the counterfeiters' organization and professionalism. In a number of cases they organize international links and distribute roles and spheres of criminal activity.

One of the main reasons for the growth of this type of crime is the lifting of restrictions on the import of modern copying and duplicating equipment from abroad and the repeal of previously established rules for its registration by the internal affairs organs. This act has not been compensated for by other forms of social control.
editorial office cannot supply the reader with the specific results of the internal affairs organs' struggle against counterfeiting in 1993. It is not known why department chief N.S. Ponomarev refused to talk with a correspondent on the telephone.

Yevgeniy Tumanov, chief of the Moscow Internal Affairs Main Administration department for combating economic crimes, believes that almost all counterfeits are distinguished by one method of production. It cannot be said that they are all produced to a very high standard: Often watermarks are lacking and the color of the dye is lighter than on a genuine note but naturally you cannot discern these nuances as you go. In principle Russian bank notes are quite well protected but after all dollars are also forged. And in general we have given our proposals on this score to the Main Administration for Production of State Bank Notes, Coins, and Medals but for some reason they have not been taken seriously.

Let us add on our own behalf that recently there has been an increase in the number of counterfeit R50,000 notes (the counterfeiters do not think small). It is particularly painful to lose such a large sum at one go so the MVD and the Central Bank urge us to be vigilant. Do not accept R50,000 notes from people you do not know. The dye on counterfeit notes is not as fast—rub a folded note to see if it comes off. And to be doubly sure wet it with saliva and see if the color runs.

Alas, so far that is all the wise fighters to preserve the integrity of bank notes can suggest to us. To judge by their recommendations all is confusion as regards money right now. It is far easier to buy nothing, to sell nothing, and to have no money at all.

Gas Production Down, Exports Up for 1993

MK3012123093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 30 Dec 93 p 3

[Report by INTERFAX-SEGODNYA under the "Statistics" rubric: "1993 Gas Production Down, Gas Exports Up on 1992"]

[Text] The downturn in natural gas production that began in 1992 continued this year. The general slump in the country's industrial production and the impoverishment of enterprises that were unable to make prompt payments to gas producers could not but affect the gas industry. As of 1 November 1993, consumers owed the "Gazprom" Russian joint-stock company 1.5 trillion rubles.

Aside from that, specialists attribute the decline in gas production in 1993 to the depletion of raw material reserves in a number of Russia's large fields that have been under development for a long time. This is what caused a decline in gas production, for example, in the Medvezhye gas field, Orenburg oil and gas condensate field, and other traditional gas-producing areas at the final stage of development.

According to the preliminary data of gas industry specialists, Russian gas and oil enterprises produced a total of 617.4 billion cubic meters of natural gas (22.7 billion cubic meters less than in 1992).

At the same time, gas enterprises that are part of the "Gazprom" Russian joint-stock company—the largest gas producer in Russia—produced 577.7 billion cubic meters, or 18.8 billion less than in 1992.

Gas production declined in 1993 primarily owing to a slump in western Siberia, Russia's main gas producing region, where "Gazprom" enterprises produced an estimated 535.5 billion cubic meters, or 16.3 billion cubic meters less compared with 1992.

According to those same sources, Russia increased natural gas exports to European countries in 1993 by 1.5 billion cubic meters and will raise this figure to 100.6 billion cubic meters.

According to forecast estimates, gas enterprises will produce 634 billion cubic meters of natural gas in 1994, of which 116 billion cubic meters will be exported to West European countries.

International Affairs

Deputy Foreign Minister on Missiles, U.S. Ties

LD0201230694 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1110 GMT 2 Jan 94

[Interview with Borys Tarasyuk, deputy foreign minister and chairman of the National Disarmament Committee, by correspondent Mykola Marynenko; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Marynenko] [Words indistinct] deactivation of SS-24 intercontinental ballistic missiles. The situation alerted both people here in Ukraine and experts abroad, people everywhere. National-minded Ukrainian patriots asserted that Ukraine is finally stripping in front of Washington and Moscow. People abroad also reacted by shrugging their shoulders: Why did Ukraine start with the most modern nuclear missiles, and why do it when the well-known SS-19 missiles pose a greater environmental danger than the SS-24's? As you see, people everywhere, in Ukraine and abroad, are asking why. Would you try answering these questions?

[Tarasyuk] Thank you. Indeed there are many questions, and I will try to explain. In my opinion, it is in Ukraine's interests to convince our partners and friends that nuclear arms deployed on the Ukrainian territory—operationally controlled from outside Ukraine, by the way—cannot be used against them.

Proceeding from this, and also taking account of the Ukrainian Supreme Council's instructions on the need to ensure effective technical control over the nonuse of nuclear arms deployed on Ukrainian territory, our state's government is working on the so-called deactivation of strategic missile systems. Deactivation applies first and foremost to missile systems or nuclear warhead-carrying systems whose service life under guarantee is about to expire. The essence of deactivation is removing warheads, storing them in Ukraine at a significant distance from missile systems, and also essentially reducing the combat readiness of these systems.

I should add that it is not only SS-24 missiles—which are more sophisticated, as you correctly pointed out—that are subject to deactivation, but the SS-19 missile systems as well. This work is being carried out concurrently. This especially concerns SS-19 missiles, whose condition will soon pose a serious threat to Ukraine itself, and which we cannot service without Russia's help.

These measures are being taken to reduce the nuclear and environmental danger, and also to show the world community that Ukraine has no plans whatsoever to resort to nuclear blackmail in relation to any country, and that it is eager to reduce nuclear confrontation and increase confidence-building measures.

Finally, I would like to stress that these steps are not identical with the process of reduction in compliance with the START-I Treaty. Meanwhile, intensive talks are being held with a number of states, primarily nuclear states, with the aim of creating preconditions for the treaty to come into force.

[Marynenko] Thank you. One more thing in connection with the above problem. Credible sources have disclosed that there are plans to deactivate three more SS-24 missiles before the end of the year. Can you please deny or confirm this.

[Tarasyuk] I will neither deny nor confirm this report. I have provided information which confirms the grounds for this work to be carried out. As for how many missile systems have been deactivated to date, and how many will be deactivated tomorrow, that much I am not prepared to tell you.

[Marynenko] One more thing. You are probably familiar with the speech by people's deputy Mykola Porovskyy at the Supreme Council. This deputy linked the deactivation of SS-24 missiles with the fact that servicemen of the 43d Army failed to swear loyalty to Ukraine. Does this mean that it is a free-for-all?

[Tarasyuk] I would like to stress once again that the decision to deactivate missile systems was made in Ukraine, irrespective of the men servicing missile systems, the servicemen of the 43d Missile Unit. Therefore, I do not think there is any ground for concern about this.

[Marynenko] Is the deactivation of SS-24 missiles a direct result of the ratification of the START-I treaty by Ukraine's parliament?

[Tarasyuk] It is not a result, but a temporary measure taken to remove the concern existing in the world, first of all in the United States, over a threat facing its territory. Naturally, it is not a one-sided process. By carrying out the deactivation—I stress this yet again—we are not taking any measures related to the compliance with the START treaty because these processes are in no way equivalent. However, by so doing we are reducing nuclear confrontation, the combat readiness of these nuclear systems is being curtailed, and we are thus making it clear that we have no aggressive intentions whatsoever and, moreover, we do not control these missile systems.

Thus, we are sending yet another signal of Ukraine's peace-loving attitude and, in addition to this, proclaiming that, by following this path, we are defusing additional tension caused by keeping these missile systems on alert, since they consume a very large amount of electric power. I think this is another point for our state to consider today.

[Marynenko] Mr. Tarasyuk, you know that following Ukraine's early start in deactivating strategic missiles, there have been new attempts to put pressure on Ukraine. What has been done is not enough, it was said, all types of missiles must be deactivated, and this must be done overnight, immediately, with complete elimination. You know very well that such insinuations have

been made. And again, for some reason, nobody is taking account of either our capability or our interests. Your comments, please.

[Tarasyuk] I will not comment on this. If you mean official reports, I know of no reports of any state demanding immediate deactivation. There is nothing like that. This process cannot be carried out overnight; it requires time, and it also requires certain material and human input.

As for the compensation for this process, as you know, a framework agreement was signed recently between the United States and Ukraine, which will make it possible, as soon as it takes effect, to start the process of using the first part of the money allocated for the nuclear arms elimination in accordance with the Nunn-Lugar provision—that is, $175 million.

[Marynenko] Mr. Tarasyuk, I am sure you know about the U.S. Senate resolution concerning ratification of the START-I Treaty. As a diplomat you know that the treaty has more depth and foresight. Although it stresses the mandatory status of Article 5 of the Lisbon Protocol, it allows for the possibility of delay in eliminating nuclear arms. But once Ukraine ratified START-I, they start saying the elimination has to be immediate. Your opinion, please.

[Tarasyuk] I assume you mean the U.S. Senate resolution concerning the START Treaty. Indeed, it is a sizeable document containing many provisions, including provisions under which the United States ratified the treaty and the Lisbon Protocol in full.

As for the ratification of this treaty by the Ukrainian Supreme Council, everybody knows that this ratification will come into force provided certain conditions are met. I will mention three of the major conditions: financial aid for the process of nuclear arms elimination; reliable guarantees of Ukraine's national security on the part of nuclear states; and third, compensation for not only strategic nuclear warheads but also nuclear warheads in the tactical nuclear weapons withdrawn from Ukraine as far back as last year.

The government is now working on this very issue so as to create conditions which would allow the Supreme Council to remove its objections concerning the force of this ratification, and to exchange instruments of ratification; only then will the treaty take effect. From that time on, Ukraine will assume the obligations which, of course, it must abide by.

[Marynenko] Esteemed Borys Tarasyuk, after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, as you well know, Russia became the new partner for the United States in Eastern Europe. International observers realize—of course, as a diplomat you also realize—that backing just one partner is no policy; it constitutes unbalanced tactics in international terms. These tactics can lead to complicated consequences. Still, one can understand the old U.S. tradition of backing the strongest partner. But for some reason, the United States to this day does not wish to see Ukraine as an important factor of the European process, as an extremely important international security zone, owing to Ukraine's special position in Eastern Europe. Do you think this current foreign policy of the U.S. Administration with regard to Ukraine is rather blind-sighted?

[Tarasyuk] You have touched upon a very serious issue. Regarding our attitude to relations between the United States and Russia, we cannot, of course, be either pleased or displeased. The relationship between the United States and Russia is their affair. We should not give our appraisal of these relations. At the same time, you are right to say that we should not put up with the tendency to view relations with Ukraine through the prism of relations with Russia, as used to be the case and sometimes still is. That should indeed concern us, and we have voiced this concern to our partners more than once.

I do not think we can now say that the United States does not regard Ukraine as a partner. In my opinion, the U.S. Administration has changed its approach toward relations with Ukraine. The United States does regard Ukraine as a serious partner. Moreover, it regards Ukraine as a guarantor of stability not only in Central and Eastern Europe but in Europe as a whole. Government officials in the United States are increasingly speaking of Ukraine is a serious partner.

However, there is a certain gap between talk and action. So far, we have not bridged this gap. There is still a certain one-sidedness in relations between Ukraine and the United States, and this one-sidedness is marked by excessive emphasis on nuclear policy issues. We are extending efforts to rectify this one-sided approach to relations between our two states. This was discussed during several meetings between Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko and his U.S. counterpart, Secretary of State Christopher, and this has been the subject of numerous contacts between Ukraine and the United States at expert level. I think we will soon hear at least verbal denials that there is a one-sided emphasis in relations with Ukraine.

A high-ranking delegation is currently preparing to visit the United States to discuss bilateral economic relations between our states. I think that if the negotiations are successful, this will indeed launch a new stage in relations between Ukraine and the United States involving more extensive areas of bilateral relations, and this will prove to all that the United States indeed sees Ukraine as a partner.

[Marynenko] Thank you. To continue the theme of relations between Ukraine and the United States, it is common knowledge that the United States is one of the strongest, or rather, the strongest world power in terms of its economic and military potential. At the same time, although Ukraine has been independent for just two years, it is trying get closer to the United States, closer in terms of normal cooperation. You have just said that a

Ukrainian delegation is seriously preparing for meetings in Washington at which a wide range of problems will be discussed, concerning, I think, not only nuclear arms and not only those wretched dollars Ukraine is allegedly trying to cadge from the United States for the elimination of nuclear arms, but fruitful and mutually beneficial cooperation.

Let us look at the U.S. position. You know U.S. President Clinton will soon pay an official visit to Moscow. At the same time he will visit half of Europe and so on. Ukraine is not included in Mr. Clinton's program. Naturally, we have no right to dictate the protocol and tell Mr. Clinton that he has to stop over in Ukraine. On the other hand, those who prepared this visit should have given the matter some thought, since there is a certain friction between the United States and Ukraine—and I mean between the United States and Ukraine, not between Ukraine and the United States. Why not use the head of state's visit to Russia for at least a short meeting with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk? Here, I think, we see a one-sided approach on the part of the U.S. Administration; here we see caution: Clinton is trying to consult with Russian President Boris Yeltsin before he receives the Ukrainian delegation. One can go on and on about the problem. What do you think as a diplomat?

[Tarasyuk] You are quite right about the U.S. President's forthcoming visit to Europe. He will visit a number of European, and not only European, states. A total of four states will be visited, including Russia, Belarus, and the Czech Republic. I must say that a visit requires the consent of two parties, and if one of the parties does not deem it possible to visit, due to schedule complications, naturally you need to look for reasons.

I can only express my personal ideas about this. You know that the United States was apprehensive about our Supreme Council's decision on the START I Treaty ratification and its attitude to the nuclear arms Non-Proliferation Treaty. However, I think this issue will soon be history. Top-level meetings between our presidents will take place, and it is only a question of time as to when and where. Whether Clinton will consult with Yeltsin on how to deal with Ukraine is hard to predict. I think there will be an exchange of views on the issue, but it is not for them to decide Ukraine's fate. Ukraine's fate is decided here, in Ukraine.

[Marynenko] Esteemed Mr. Tarasyuk, according to a declassified CIA report, no country, except for China and Russia, possesses land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles capable of reaching U.S. territory. Tell us please why Washington raised such a fuss around nuclear arms deployed in Ukraine?

[Tarasyuk] I know nothing about this secret [as heard] CIA report, but as far as I know from expert reports, there are intercontinental ballistic missiles in Ukraine capable of reaching U.S. territory, and this is a matter of special concern for the U.S. Government. It is actually SS-24 missiles that are capable of delivering warheads over such a distance.

[Marynenko] I am sorry, again, here is something trivial but true. The button, that is, control over these nuclear arms and these SS-24 missiles, is in Moscow. Ukraine has no control over these arms and has no right to launch them. Excuse me, but why not put these claims to Russia as one of the nuclear states? Why put these claims to Ukraine? Moscow papers are publishing charts that show Ukraine's current nuclear potential allegedly several times larger than that of England, France, and China put together, etc., etc., etc. They emphasize how many nuclear facilities we have, how many warheads, etc., etc. For some reason one thing is ignored: It was not Ukraine as an independent state that built and maintained this huge nuclear potential, but that it is a part of the nuclear potential of the monster the former Soviet Union used to be.

[Tarasyuk] It is absolutely true, Ukraine had and still has no operational control of the nuclear arms deployed on its territory. Ukraine cannot operate the launch of these missiles, and Ukraine does not seek such control, therefore, there are no grounds whatsoever to blame Ukraine for an allegedly posed threat. The so-called objectivity of the Moscow press, especially with relation to Ukraine, is all too familiar to us all. In this connection the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry press center issued a statement yesterday that emphasized the inadmissibility of the media of the Russian Ostankino television studios and Russian president's adviser (Migranyan) making such overtly provocative anti-Ukrainian remarks. Naturally, this is not conducive to the improvement of the atmosphere in the relations between our states; naturally, this does not improve the atmosphere for the settlement of these issues. But we must pay attention to the realities, and, whenever possible, expose false anti-Ukrainian campaigns in the media, especially concerning the fact that, as you said, Ukraine has no control over nuclear arms that, by a twist of fate, are based on its territory and in which the Ukrainian people invested a lot of labor, sweat, and money. They are based on our territory, and in order to make it clear that Ukraine does not threaten anyone, Ukraine has embarked on the process of deactivating, dismantling, and reducing the combat readiness of these missile systems. By this we shall prove our really peace-loving nature and show the entire world that it is not Ukraine that poses a threat.

[Marynenko] Thank you, Mr. Tarasyuk, for your sincere opinion on the above problem. But let us come down to earth and, as they say, dot the i's. I mean the nuclear arms problem. It is simple. Russia now wants to become the sole owner of nuclear arms in our region. They took away, and some say stole, our tactical weapons—for which Ukraine has received not a kopeck so far—they took away arms from Belarus, Kazakhstan, etc. And now, using all possible and impossible, official and unofficial, means of influence over the United States, Russia seeks to take away nuclear arms from Ukraine. Or is that only an assumption? What do you think?

[Tarasyuk] Well, I cannot comment on what Russia seeks. But I would like to say that we must not repeat the same mistake made when tactical weapons were transferred to Russia for dismantling and destruction.

[Marynenko] Excuse me, let us talk about Ukraine's stance. Ukraine trusted Russia and handed over tactical nuclear weapons so as to receive compensation. Confidence, as international observers say, worked, but it worked only on Ukraine's part. [filing to be resumed after 1000 GMT 3 Jan]

[Marynenko] Borys Tarasyuk, you said that some countries have already agreed to help us financially. Could you name these countries which are ready to help Ukraine in the reduction of its nuclear potential?

[Tarasyuk] Everybody knows now that the United States has made a decision, and not just in principle, but has already decided to grant the first part of this aid in the amount of $175 million. Financial and technical aid has also been offered by the governments of Germany, Japan, Great Britain, and a few other countries, but negotiations on this are continuing.

[Marynenko] Thank you, and with your permission I will allow myself to quote an interview by mathematician Muhammed Siddik Afghan, president of the Science and Research Center for World Philosophy and Mathematics. He is talking about Ukraine and its nuclear arms. I quote: Ukraine needs to keep nuclear arms, the scientist says, so as not to wind up defenseless before the West which, talking of security, is not eager to disarm itself. A weak state will not receive proper aid, either, the scientist believes. In any case, arms can be sold, and this is huge money which can be used to help the country's economy. What do you think?

[Tarasyuk] I must say that this scientist's conclusions happen to coincide with the stance of the Ukrainian parliament, the president and the government of Ukraine which insist that the cost of nuclear warheads which Ukraine will be handing over for their dismantling and destruction must be compensated. There are no differences on this. As for aid to weak states, experience proves that it is weak states which receive such aid. It would be difficult to imagine a strong, not only in military, but first of all in economic terms, state which receives aid from somebody. Aid is give to a weak state, of course, or to a state which has found itself in economic difficulties, which is the case with Ukraine. That is why, I think, having no working economy, an economy without clear outlines on the one hand, and at the same time seeking to keep nuclear arms, without either funds or specialists or capability to maintain them, would be illogical, and in this respect one may not agree with the scientist.

[Marynenko] Allow me to quote one more fragment of the same interview on Ukraine by Muhammed Siddik Afghan. He is convinced that in 1995-96 Ukraine will see the beginning of economic stabilization, and by the year 2000 Ukraine will become one of the prosperous countries of the world community. The only way out of the crisis, according to the mathematician's calculations, lies in close mutual relations among the countries of the former Soviet Union. Let me remind you that Mukhammed Afghan was the one who predicted a speedy end to the political carreer of Yegor Ligachev, in particular; he foretold that Gorbachev would be the last president of the Soviet Union and calculated Ukraine's independence back in 1990. Such are the predictions of the well-known scientist and mathematician. But the problem under discussion, the topic of our conversation with Borys Tarasyuk, chairman of the national disarmament committee and deputy foreign minister of Ukraine, deals with nuclear weapons— so, nuclear weapons and one of the last questions, if you don't mind.

Mr. Tarasyuk, quite often they maintain here that Ukraine is striving for a nuclear-free status and this is being asserted at different levels. In your opinion, what formula of this status now meets Ukraine's national interests best of all? A difficult question, isn't it?

[Tarasyuk] May I clarify this question, if you don't mind? Ukraine is striving for a nuclear-free status and what form of this status is the best today for Ukraine?

[Marynenko] Yes, yes. What formula of this status can be the best and the most beneficial for us today? After all, we are an independent, sovereign state.

[Tarasyuk] Well, the decision on achieving a nuclear-free status in the future was taken in 1990. We know the political conditions under which this decision was taken. Taking this decision the Supreme Council of Ukraine reflected the opinion of the people of Ukraine which at that time still remained a part of the former Soviet Union. At that time this decision was perceived with great enthusiasm, and not only in our country but far beyond its borders. Eventually, Ukraine obtained genuine independence and at present it is building its independent domestic and foreign policies. The issue on the nuclear-free status arises from time to time during the discussion of the main issues of the domestic and foreign policies in Ukraine's parliament. I cannot recall even a single decision by the Ukrainian parliament dealing with this issue which would not confirm and would not contain a confirmation of Ukraine's intention to achieve a nuclear-free status. The question is when to achieve this status, during which period of time and by which way. Strictly speaking, it is on this issue that all experts now work on. Precisely this is the biggest problem now facing our state.

I would like to say that the achievement of a nuclear-free status, in my opinion, is a lasting process which will require great effort, and not only economic or financial effort, but it will also require a balanced approach which would take into account all technical, ecological problems and Ukraine's possibilities and, in my opinion, the

term stipulated by the START-1 treaty, namely seven years, is, in our opinion, a realistic term for achieving such a status.

[Marynenko] Thank you. We have a rather difficult conversation today and the topic under discussion is very serious: the issue of nuclear armaments. And the last question, if you don't mind.

When the Supreme Council of Ukraine ratified START-1 experts in the West paid their attention not to this ratification, first and foremost, but to those reservations which were made by the Supreme Council during the ratification. So, they said that these reservations completely destroyed the ratification and Ukraine would never fulfil the START-1 treaty. What is your opinion?

[Tarasyuk] If one pretends he is deaf and turns his deaf ear to what had been said by the Supreme Council of Ukraine, then, of course, one can abandon hopes for any positive result and hence for the validation of the treaty and hence for the implementation of this treaty not only by Ukraine but by all the states, would-be participants in this treaty, in the provisions of this treaty. This is why I believe that the logic and reasons behind the reservations made by the Supreme Council of Ukraine now receive ever growing understanding throughout the world. Many scientists and representatives of governments and political figures point to the validity of the reservations made by the Supreme Council of Ukraine. This validity, the logical nature of these reservations made our partners arrive at the idea that it is necessary to work jointly so as to reach agreement concerning the search for mutually acceptable decisions which would help to remove these reservations. This is exactly what our government and representatives of Russia and the USA now work on. I think there are all grounds to believe that we shall be able [to reach mutually acceptable agreements] under condition that there is a search for compromises, the compromises which would be made not at the expense of Ukraine but with regard to Ukraine's national interests, only under such conditions is it possible to reach mutually acceptable agreements which will help us in the cause of persuading the Supreme Council of Ukraine that the reservations are being fulfilled.

Bizhan Says Ukraine Signed No Military Accords in Ashgabat

LD0201211694 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1930 GMT 2 Jan 94

[From the "Radio Slavyanka" program of the Russian Defense Ministry]

[Text] Ukraine did not sign any military agreements at the meeting of CIS heads of state in Ashgabat in December last year. Colonel General Ivan Bizhan, Ukraine's deputy defense minister, said the Ukrainian military delegation's aim was to establish personal contacts with colleagues from CIS countries. Military accords will be signed in the near future with Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

National Affairs

Kravchuk Holds 30 Dec News Conference

LD3112162593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 30 Dec 93

[News conference given by President Leonid Kravchuk on 30 December; place not given; with questions by unidentified radio, television, and UKRINFORM correspondents—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Esteemed Leonid Makarovych, today is New Year's Eve, and on this day people traditionally assess the year that is coming to an end. What is your opinion of 1993? What have we achieved having lived through it? Or, maybe, you think that it will go down in Ukraine's history as a year of lost hopes?

[Kravchuk] Well, I would say that this year we did not only have bad affairs. But, unfortunately, good ones were fewer. This is true.

Although, to go further and move forward along a more clear-cut course and at a faster rate, it was necessary to live through this time as well. Although, it could have been possible to live through it easier, if so many mistakes of both objective and subjective nature were not allowed to occur. For example, here are some facts. Over the time that has elapsed, though not only this year, Ukraine has withstood such powerful price blows that they are even difficult to imagine. For example, the price for oil and oil products in Ukraine has grown 5,000 times over, not 500, but 5,000 times. Sometimes, I even think on how the economy managed to endure this. I would like to tell you that it is only thanks to our people who are able to work under the most difficult conditions, and to our leaders in industry and agriculture, farmers, those who are already private owners and commercial structures, that we did not collapse altogether and already in 1993, especially its end became, say, the time of even a certain slow-down in production decline.

[Word indistinct] I know that figures have a certain meaning when everything is available in the shops, but facts are facts. Well, for example, over the 11 months of last year [1992] the national income decreased by 18 percent. But in January-November of this year [national income decreased] by 13 percent. Certain enterprises, for example, [word indistinct], the Transport Ministry, the State Housing and Communal Economy, corporation Ukrmontazhspetsbud [Ukrainian assembly and special construction], and others achieved volumes of production that exceeded those of last year. Exceeded. The number of electric locomotives, specialized [word indistinct] systems, [word indistinct] equipment, generators, and woodworking machines has grown, in other words, very many other items could be enumerated. Also, something has been done in conversion and saving fuel and energy resources. This was simply a demand of life. Well, I cannot but thank the countryside workers who gathered in 45.6 million tons of grain this year. [Word indistinct] vegetables and fruits more than last year.

Milk yields have to increase somewhat. That is to say, something has nevertheless, been done. I would not like us to look at our life with such pessimism, or form it only [word indistinct]. There are grounds to say that something has been done. However, if to assess [word indistinct] on a general scale, I think this year can be referred to as the year of the beginning of a transition toward new forms of economic life. Well, I, for example, would mention only some of these.

First, we approved a program of anti-inflation measures. We managed to work out the principles of relations between the state and the agrarian sector. Only recently we discussed this issue at the Coordinating Council and agreed in principle on how to settle debts. This is very important (?as we are responsible) to the farmers who yielded such a rich harvest, and who live in poverty, worse than anyone else. We agreed on how to give more freedom to regions. For example, there was a meeting recently, and I will go through with this affair because I am convinced that they do have possibilities to work better without the direct interference of the center.

We managed to agree with Russia and Turkmenistan on the prices and volumes of energy sources, which is principally important for Ukraine. That is to say, certain steps got underway toward, I would say, more active work here based on market and other principles. Therefore, to sum up what I have said, it is already possible to say that our time in 1993 was not wasted.

[Correspondent] Leonid Makarovych. All Ukraine had an opportunity to watch our people's deputies working in the session hall. Quite often it happened that there were about 190-200 deputies in the hall. But when it is time to vote, the Narada electronic voting system shows at least 300-320 [word indistinct]. What I have in mind is that some of the deputies vote instead of their colleagues, doing this at a sprinter's speed when it is necessary to vote. They insert their cards by turns and thus adopt relevant documents. But can such documents be considered legal? I mean, for example, the latest events when the deputies imposed [word indistinct] on the president's edicts, in particular, concerning the Blasco-Black Sea Shipping Company. The chosen representatives of the people seem to block the course of the reform deliberately. What is to be done? Who is to blame? [Words indistinct]

[Kravchuk] True, from the point of view of law and the Constitution, such decisions, if made with such a gross violation of the rules, are, as a matter of fact, illegal. However, during the past four years the Supreme Council has not adopted permanent rules of its activity. And this is one of such, well, very important gaps, because the rules are the internal law of work. They are the internal constitution. It does not exist. If it does not exist one can act this way, although the temporary rules clearly define the conditions under which the Supreme Council works in a session regime. That is to say, there must be not less than two thirds of the deputies in the hall. However, this electronic display speeds work on the one hand, but, on the other, it gives an opportunity to carry out such manipulations. They are being carried out openly, in public. This is why it could be possible to do it this way: To register at the tables and then vote by a show of hands. This is real. It is possible to appoint a counting commission, for example, and to work. I just do not see any other option. You are correct in saying [words indistinct]. Well, I analyzed this myself and charged my [word indistinct]. I can say frankly that, for example, there are actually no people there on Thursday, especially at the evening session, and on Friday, at the two sittings, but the voting goes on. That is to say, falsification takes place (?in the eyes of) the people. Strictly speaking I am also involved because I sign the laws which are adopted. But is there any way out? For example, it is written in the Constitution that the law, if not signed by me within 10 days, will come into force anyway.

Secondly, there is no Constitutional Court where I can appeal and say that I want to consider this or that disputable issue. They blame me for the fact that the Constitutional Court was not elected. I was interested in it most of all, and this is why I had been initiating the election of the Constitutional Court all the time. But it was difficult to elect it, not only because there was a split in assessments by people but, again, because there were no people in the hall. When they were registering themselves at the tables there was no two-thirds majority.

I proposed another move when I met the deputies: Let us do as they do it throughout the world, for example, half is to be elected by the president and half is to be elected by you. The Constitutional Court chairman has been elected and let the Constitutional Court decide: If the president's decree is anti-constitutional, the court will say this, if not, the court will also have its say. For example, if the court did exist a veto is imposed. What is to be done next? According to the constitution this veto is to be submitted to the Constitutional Court for assessment. At present, the veto is imposed but who will assess it? Nobody. Therefore, the Supreme Council has no counterbalance that would influence it. For example, there is no law to revoke a deputy. The Constitutional Court is nonexistent. The rules are nonexistent.

In general, one can get an impression that the Supreme Council is both the judge and the legislator all together, in one organization, as they say. And the president, for example, has no specific influence. For example, over this period the Supreme Council has already twice given and taken away plenary powers from the president. Should I act correspondingly adequately? There are no regulators, no levers that I have been talking about. This, well, is for example a very dangerous thing. And, if you started to talk about these vetoes, then I understand. I would not like to analyze now whether this veto was imposed correctly or incorrectly.

But I would like to say one thing, that this is a purely economic and managerial issue, if we take the issue of the Black Sea shipping company. And I have dozens of

telegrams now, very serious telegrams because there are hundreds of ships that sail to all ports. Relevant treaties and agreements with foreign firms have been concluded. And the veto meant that the activities of the shipping company was virtually brought to a halt. One hour spent by a ship, either being unloaded or loaded in a port, costs thousands of dollars. I would like you to know this. And I understand that not everybody knew this. But there were people there who deal with, who know what the sea [word indistinct] is. So, he came out and said: Esteemed people's deputies, this is correct but let us first examine the issue. Let us appoint a commission and then take a decision on veto.

But, you know, our Supreme Council is seriously affected by one illness: presidentophobia. If the president submits something, no matter whether it is correct or incorrect, vote it down, because this was submitted by the president. Somebody even told me that they say: If you want this to be turned down, ask Leonid Makarovych to submit it. It will never be adopted. That is to say, the real, the contents are substituted...[sentence incomplete] I do not want to say that this refers to all the deputies. There are some sober-minded, clever deputies. Quite a few political figures came from the Supreme Council and more will come, I am sure. But the situation today is very complicated, extremely complicated and the president cannot protect himself, what is important, he cannot, he has no levers to put the Supreme Council in its place through the Constitutional Court, for example. And the Supreme Council is able to put the president in his place by means of voting. Where are equal rights, I wonder? Both the Supreme Council and the president were elected by the people. But the president has no regulators that could influence the Supreme Council. This is dangerous, simply dangerous, the more so that they vote on their on behalf and on behalf of another person. They can vote for anything and this just evokes my anxiety.

[Correspondent] Leonid Makarovych, you probably know better than anybody else that people have gotten tired of price blows, inflation, and impoverishment. What changes in political and economic life of our country do you think can give us hope for the better and realize this hope next year?

[Kravchuk] First, I have already told you about the steps which have already been taken. Second, I hope that the people will elect the new Supreme Council; that responsible and well-prepared people, those who take the cause to heart, will be elected; that raging passions and debates will give place to real work; that this Supreme Council will elect the government, appoint a government which will also consist of new people with new thinking, creative and responsible people. They have already come into being in Ukraine over this period.

You know, I already observe this process. Someone in the government left, but this in no way means that such a person is incapable of doing anything. There are relevant conditions and situations. In other words, the idea is that people have acquired experience and learned a lot over this time, and I hope we will manage to unite them, to consolidate them under a single idea, a single theme, a single objective. Thus they will be able to work and will be of benefit.

I again turn to the fact that in its time the Supreme Council failed to adopt a constitution. You know, they have been working for [word indistinct] years, twice submitted something to the Supreme Council, but nothing [words indistinct]. And there is no hope of it being passed by the Supreme Council. This is why I will make a direct appeal with a legal initiative to the people, bypassing the Supreme Council, to include the law on power on the 27 March referendum, in other words, to provide a constitutional law on power which will determine the system, the forms of the system, state [word indistinct], regional autonomy, thereby determining what Ukraine will be like.

For example, I believe we need a parliamentary-presidential system, that the president as head of the state must exercise relevant plenary powers. The government, the prime minister must be head of the executive power and fully responsible for all executive power, for economic policy, for government programs, and for their implementation.

The Supreme Council must be a legislative body. That is to say, there must be a delimitation of powers, as is written in our Declaration, but no one abides by this so far. And let the people vote; this will become the basis. It will be easier for the new Supreme Council to adopt all the rest, because, unless this is done now, what can the Supreme Council begin with when it assembles? To work on the basis of the obsolete Constitution which was patched up plenty of times and from which whole chapters were excluded? If you read this Constitution you will find it consists entirely of contradictions.

We have to begin with the constitution, but in the meantime laws have to be made. The legislative field is such a difficult one; moreover, it has already been ploughed with government decrees. To some extent it was changed by the president's decrees. If, as sometimes happens, the law differs from the decree, the law may be better than the decree. Which should we lean on? Some say it is better to rely on the decree, others say it is better to rely on the law. So, as you see, there are big problems.

I think I will ask people to show understanding and vote for themselves. This is their foremost right, the right of a sovereign people, and when the holder of people's power has made its decision, no one's hand or tongue will be urging people to elect this one immediately, re-elect another one, dismiss someone else, give something to another. Do you see what is happening? For three or four years we, the Supreme Council, have either been giving or taking away, changing or adding. These fundamentals will then be approved by the people and the Supreme Council will work on the basis of this law. This is a political question of principle.

If we do this, we will open the way to political and economic reforms and to normal functioning of the Supreme Council. So, if we manage to do this, as I think our people understand, they will know what is soundly based and what is mere foam. If we decide this together, we will make a great step forward. I hope we will do this.

[Correspondent] Esteemed Leonid Makarovych, the United Nations declared 1994 the year of the family. Our people know you not only as the head of state, but also as the head of your large, close-knit family, and it was very pleasant to meet your family in the press, magazines, and other publications. What will be your wishes for the Ukrainian family in 1994 and for the families of other nationalities living in our land. What new legislation should we expect in terms of family protection?

[Kravchuk] First of all, I am head of state, my wife is head of the family. My hands are so full with state concerns that I am a mere onlooker to what is going on there, and how well it is going, but I do not interfere in the way things are actually done. She supervises it herself, an she seems to be doing a good job.

Second, the family is really not just a number of people, be it large or small. It is a source of life, a source where the morals, the nation, and the people are formed. Life is given there, and from there it takes off, develops, and [word indistinct] itself. This would not happen without a family. It is the determining factor.

I know the role played by the woman as mother of the family. She gives life, she protects it, and she organizes it. If any man thinks he is the one doing this, he is wrong. If the woman knows her stuff, she will do it in such a way that he will think he did it, but in fact his role is not very big. I can see this in my own family, and in the families of my friends. I can see how cleverly women do this.

Third, in conditions like ours, our women are using their (?wisdom), [word indistinct], and skills to solve various problems, concerning food or whatever. We can only thank our women for this.

But our family is not just a family circle. Ukraine is a whole family. It is a huge state with a large number of nationalities and peoples, a family of people with different ethnic origins. I would like to take advantage of this question to wish all people living in Ukraine happiness, good fortune, and health.

I hope nobody will ever even think of saying anything which could cause tension in relations between people of different ethnic origin. I hope they will all be citizens of our united state, and that they will all be masters of it. To that end, we will do our best in terms of legislation to make sure that no person feels inferior or superior to anybody because of their ethnic background. All are equal, and all will have equal rights and freedoms.

I would also like to mention that numerous Ukrainians are living abroad in other states, and that many people of other nationalities are living here. We have been living together in the former Soviet Union, and it is clear that the kind of migration processes still taking place then were a normal fact of life. I would like to wish them health and say that we have lived through a very difficult year, a year laden with doubt, a year of searching. We have been searching within the CIS, there was something we found, there was something we failed to find, but that depended not only on ourselves, I mean not only on Ukraine.

The summit in Ashgabat showed how much we have learned in forming and upgrading this structure. It is [word indistinct]. Ukraine will do its best to make it work efficiently and equally for all. As a sovereign state, it requires new principles and new foundations.

In the next year we must solve the nuclear problem and everything connected with it, and I think we will succeed in doing this. I hope we will solve the problem of the Black Sea Fleet. There is the will to do this. If there is enough good will in Russia—and now the United States is getting actively involved in this effort—it will help us solve many issues.

I hope that when all this is put together, all this will guarantee one thing for the family: peace. If you ask, not only a woman or a mother, but any normal person, they will tell you that men always want to look a bit braver than they are, and that leads to pugnacity. Men do have this trait, history knows it. So, even if you ask them what they want most, what they always long for, they will tell you they want peace and quiet in the family, under every roof, within our large state, and in relations with other states. If we have all this—and I will say sincerely that as long as I am president I will do my utmost to ensure peace in every home, in every house, to prevent bloodshed in our land—we will manage everything; we will build, restore, and take the democratic and law-governed road of development. This is inevitable, we merely need time. But let us not destroy that which we have, let us not destroy life.

We will greatly intensify and take new steps to step up the fight against corruption, crime, and all shameful phenomena now existing. We are not concealing a single fact referred to in the Supreme Council or elsewhere. I have instructed the prosecutor's office to sort this out, and we will show everything to the people—both facts and analysis. Those guilty will made to bear responsibility, while the innocent will be innocent, and we will not stick labels on them, will not insult them or brand them as criminals before the verdict of a prosecutor or a court. (?Do not think that because) you happen to be a people's deputy you can get away with it.

I think we will get over all these diseases in a way worthy of our people who are patient, wise, peaceful, and closely bound, and will do their best to keep it that way. As for

families, I wish them good fortune, health, and happiness, health to children and grandchildren. I have children and grandchildren myself and I know how important this is—when I hear that my daughter or my grandson is sick, I cannot put it out of my mind even with the strenuous and difficult job I have. Whenever I have a free minute I run to the phone to find out how they are, whether their fever is high or not. That's me, with my workload. What about other people? Actually the workload has nothing to do with it, it is a normal thing for a person to want a clearly determined future, to want its family to go on and, as they say, to wish that our family will never become extinct.

I also wish you well, as a woman who has her own family and wants her family to be healthy, and all those guarding our family. As for the legislation, it will improve.

Gives Year-End Interview

LD3012220393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1645 GMT 30 Dec 93

[By Ukrinform correspondents Viktor Demidenko and Aleksandr Litvinov for TASS]

[Text] Kiev, 30 Dec—In an interview with Ukrinform and Gosteleradio correspondents, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk described 1993 as the year in which Ukraine began a transition to new forms of economic life.

Although there were many mistakes and miscalculations, he admitted, "Ukraine has not slid into the abyss, as some would have us believe." The fall in national income was 5 percent less than last year, and the decline in manufacturing slowed down. The country's industry produced a greater quantity of electric locomotives, special-purpose cisterns, power equipment, generators, wood working machines, and other goods. Farmers also had a good year, gathering 45.6 million quintals per hectare, considerably more than in 1992. The milk yield also increased.

Leonid Kravchuk described an agreement on prices and volumes of fuel deliveries to Ukraine signed with Russia and Turkmenistan as a positive step in the right direction.

In the interview he paid a considerable attention to the upcoming elections of people's deputies. The president expressed confidence that people would be able to come grips with the situation and, bearing in mind the pre-election campaign in Russia, would elect truly worthy and experienced politicians.

Taking about the most pressing tasks for the upcoming year, Leonid Kravchuk expressed confidence that Ukraine would be able to meet its targets for nuclear disarmament and to resolve the problem of the Black Sea Fleet in a civilized manner with Russia. The main thing for us, the president stressed, is "that there should be peace, tranquility, and confidence in the future in this common home of ours which we call Earth."

Kravchuk Broadcasts New Year's Messages

Addresses Ukrainian People

LD3112231093 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 2200 GMT 31 Dec 93

[Text] President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk addressed the Ukrainian people with New Year's greetings and congratulations. He said in part:

[Begin Kravchuk recording in Ukrainian, fading into English translation] The 1993 year was a difficult year for all of us. However, we succeeded in preserving three priceless things: peace, the integrity of our land, and democracy. Thanks to our peace-loving policy, flexibility, and wisdom of our people, we managed to preserve good neighbors and friends abroad. And now we have every ground to say that peace reigns supreme under each Ukrainian roof, in every Ukrainian home, throughout our great Ukrainian land.

Although we cannot boast of much success in economic reforms, but [as heard] the first serious steps have been taken. For instance, we succeeded in building the efficient armed forces which are capable of defending our sovereign state. Serious reforms have taken place in education, as well as in other spheres of our life. The Ukrainian Government and the Verkhovna Rada [Supreme Council] have done their best to stop the further development of crisis in economy and policy.

In this connection I would like to call upon all the Ukrainian people, political parties, and movements, as well as the structures of executive and legislative power, to unite their efforts for a successful settlement of the crucial problems in our life.

First of all, we have to find a just solution to the nuclear arms problem. We have to settle the issue concerning the Black Sea Fleet, which prevents us from establishing good-neighborly relations with Russia. I am sure that our northern neighbor will have enough wisdom and goodwill to continue cooperation with us in the name of the successful solution of these acute problems.

Let's unite our efforts in our striving for peace, democracy, and friendship.

I wish every Ukrainian family strong health, happiness, and well- being. Happy New Year! [end recording]

[Announcer] That was a New Year address to the people of Ukraine made by President Leonid Kravchuk.

Greets Servicemen in Sarajevo

LD0101102894 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0900 GMT 1 Jan 94

[Text] Leonid Kravchuk, the supreme commander of the Armed Forces and president of Ukraine, has sent New Year's greetings to the servicemen of the independent special battalion of Ukraine in the Sarajevo sector.

The state attributes great significance to your peacemaking mission in the troubled region enveloped in the flames of war, says the message of greetings. The whole of Ukraine is following the events in former Yugoslavia with anxiety and unremitting attention. It is proud of the courage and restraint with which the soldiers of the Ukrainian battalion perform their humane duty.

Excellent actions by the Ukrainian battalion aimed at achieving peace on the long-suffering land, the message further reads, help establish our state on the world scene and promote the solution of many problems facing Ukraine in international relations.

The supreme commander of the Armed Forces of Ukraine wished the officers and soldiers of the battalion happiness, health, balance, and courage in their difficult and responsible service.

A New Year's message addressed to the same battalion has been sent by Army General Vitaliy Radetskyy, the Ukrainian defense minister.

Greets Russian Listeners

LD3112201493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1800 GMT 31 Dec 93

[Text] We continue now to broadcast greetings from CIS heads of state. Here are New Year greetings from Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk.

[Begin Kravchuk recording] It gives me great pleasure to address all people living in the CIS countries and beyond. I am convinced that if we had done this earlier, if each year we heads of state had had the opportunity to address people directly, there might have been greater mutual understanding, because everything—life and day-to-day living—has hampered us.

We should remember and guard like the apple of our eye everything good that was started by everyone and the great capital that we all possess—namely, mutual understanding, cooperation, and the friendship between peoples which was forged in most difficult conditions and at most difficult times.

I would like to greet everyone on the occasion of the New Year and to wish them happiness and good health. I would like to emphasize that Ukraine will do everything it can to help resolve the acute problems that now divide us to some extent and give rise to certain misunderstandings between us.

The first of these is the nuclear problem, and we will definitely resolve it and find a way to mutual understanding. I can already see the beginning of such a wish on the part of the Russian leadership and on the part of the United States.

We will definitely solve the problem of the Black Sea. I am convinced that we will resolve other problems too.

We are gradually gaining experience in improving the CIS to a position where the structure will work for all of us. In this regard, Ukraine will do everything it can to see that here too there is mutual understanding, cooperation, and mutual support.

Ukraine is a state that has embarked on the path of peace, friendship, mutual understanding, and democracy, and we will continue to travel this path, strengthening ties and relations of good-neighborliness and mutual understanding with all states, and first and foremost with *our* neighbors.

I wish you well and wish you happiness by saying: [remainder of Kravchuk's address in Ukrainian] Let everything be well with you and with us! All the best to you all and good health and happiness! Happy New Year in 1994! May this year bring all of us happiness and peace and may our hopes be fulfilled! [end recording]

Rukh Leader Discusses Party Support, Economy

MK3112124093 Moscow OBSHCHAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 1/26, 1-7 Jan 94 (signed to press 30 Dec 93) p 2

[Interview with Rukh leader Vyachslav Chornovil by Arkadiy Romm under the "A Call to a Deputy" rubric; place and date not given: "There Is No Zhirinovskiy in Ukraine, But There Is Rukh"]

[Text] Rukh leader Vyachslav Chornovil has made public a memo prepared by the Ukrainian president's internal policy service for Leonid Kravchuk. It is probably on the basis of this memo that the president said recently that Rukh simply does not exist in Ukraine as a mass public political movement. We turned to Vyachslav Chornovil, a deputy of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, for an explanation.

[Chornovil] This document, which classifies parties according to one principle—their loyalty to the president—said: Rukh's potential is not above zero, except for some of the republic's western oblasts. The president was given false information. Our party is the largest democratic organization in Ukraine: We have 51,000 members and 2 million supporters, plus another 50,000 from "Memorial," the Ukrainian Students Union, and other associated organizations. The number of our supporters is steadily growing. We should give the powers that be their due, however: They help Rukh increase its influence in people's minds. The republic ranks second in the inflationary race of sorts. Yugoslavia is first, but there is war there. As for us, we may go to a situation that was characteristic of the Weimar Republic: They sat down for lunch at a restaurant at one price, but had to pay at another.

[Romm] Do you see the woes of independent Ukraine as ineluctable?

[Chornovil] No, but only under a different leadership. Our state was proclaimed independent by a communist majority in parliament, which feared retaliation for its support for the State of Emergency Committee. At

present that same party nomenklatura is still in power. It adopted our slogans about statehood, although it did not want any statehood. It talks about democracy, although it had put us in jail for those same words. It keeps discussing reform, although it does not pursue it.

[Romm] Monetary reform is also a possibility. They say that the grivna will be introduced next January.

[Chornovil] I have also heard these rumors. God forbid that they should actually introduce it. The grivna with zeros deleted will be able to hold out for some time, to show some stability to the voters before the elections. Then it will slide downward, like the karbovanets. The grivna should not be introduced before carrying out broad privatization, selling land, and doing many other things that will back up the money. We could leave inflation behind in a couple of months, reverse the slump in production within 12 to 18 months, and reach more or less decent living standards in 5 to 10 years. Rukh has a clear-cut program to that effect.

[Romm] Ukrainian Supreme Council Deputy Larisa Skorik, your former associate in Rukh, said to the parliament that Rukh lives on money from "Gurvits, a Jew."

[Chornovil] I know Eduard Gurvits, chairman of Odessa's Zhovtnevyy district soviet, from the latest presidential elections. He campaigned for me. But he has not given us a single kopeck either then or now. At the same time, entrepreneurs in various cities give us their backing in the hope of seeing actual reform. At our latest congress, an organization called Economic Rukh was born.

[Romm] How do you assess Rukh's chances in the March elections for the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet?

[Chornovil] They are not great on account of the current election law. If the law were similar to the Russian one, Rukh, as the most significant party, could have won up to 30 percent of seats.

[Romm] The Russian law cleared the path for Zhirinovskiy, though.

[Chornovil] Ukraine does not have its own Zhirinovskiy, although his embryos have emerged in the Ukrainian National Assembly. It is well known that Ukrainian National Self-Defense (UNSD) fighters fought in the Dniester Region and Georgia. It is mostly unexceptional persons who will become Ukraine's parliamentarians. The law allows workers collectives to nominate candidates. State ownership accounts for 95 percent of the total in Ukraine. This means that it is directors who will win deputy seats.

[Romm] But Leonid Kravchuk is not sitting on his hands either, is he?

[Chornovil] I know that he is hand-picking his own candidates in 200 electoral districts through his administration. The president needs them so that they will vote for canceling early presidential elections. The Central Electoral Commission is acting according to calls from Bankovskaya Street, where the president has his residence. Hence its decisions.

Inflation Reached 70 Percent a Month in 1993

LD0201204694 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 2 Jan 94

[Text] The Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers has instructed that all retail trade prices in the republic are to be rounded off to multiples of 10 as of 1 January. All trading organizations, whatever their form of ownership, are obliged, as previously, to accept one, three, and five coupon notes, although in future they will be withdrawn from circulation.

Official sources say inflation in Ukraine reached 70 percent a month by the end of 1993, and the largest bank note, 100,000 karbovantsy, is worth approximately $3 at the market rate.

Belarus

Parliament Rejects UN Request To Send Troops to Yugoslavia

LD0201170294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1531 GMT 2 Jan 94

[Text] The Belarusian parliament's presidium has turned down UN Secretary-General Butrus-Ghali's request for sending a Belarusian battalion to Yugoslavia for a peacekeeping mission, speaker of the Belarusian parliament Stanislav Shushkevich told Interfax's Minsk branch.

He said that although Belarus was well aware of the importance of its participation in the international effort to settle armed conflicts, the presidium did not even venture to raise this question in the parliament. The Belarusian people have not yet got over the Afghan syndrome, he said. He also added that during the Afghan war Belarus had lost far more soldiers than other former Soviet republics.

Shushkevich said that the current psychological condition of Belarusian society and the memories of World War II during which Belarus lost one fourth of its population was another reason for refusal.

He stated that other representatives of the UN secretary-general had also been informed of the presidium's unanimous position.

See the upcoming issue of the Presidential Bulletin for Shushkevich's exclusive interview with Interfax.

Kebich Urges Strengthening Ties With Russia

LD3012210293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1459 GMT 30 Dec 93

[By Belinform-TASS]

[Text] Minsk, 30 Dec—Belarusian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich said today that "interaction with Russia is the cornerstone of the republic's policy."

"We firmly believe that people need to follow our course toward an economic union within the CIS framework, a single ruble zone with Russia, and coordinated customs space as an opportunity and necessity to live and work in a civilized way," he said today at a reception for diplomats accredited in Minsk.

The premier said: The basis of our foreign policy is giving up force and a threat of force and giving up nuclear weapons. "We were the first among the former USSR republics and among the world's states in general, who, without putting forward any preliminary conditions to the world community, began nuclear disarmament. By doing this, we laid our own little brick in the common foundation for European and international security. At the same time, we are not expecting any gratitude from the world community. The main thing for us is trust, mutual understanding, and an opportunity for full-blooded international cooperation," he said.

President Shushkevich Delivers New Year's Address

LD3112201893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1730 GMT 31 Dec 93

[New Year's message by President Stanislav Shushkevich—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed citizens of the Commonwealth of Independent States! My passionate desire is that under no circumstances do we ever discard the better things we had in the past. It seems to me that we have all the preconditions to use them, to regenerate and strengthen them on a new and fundamental basis. We are able to cooperate in a worthy fashion; each nation can take care of itself. But it would be senseless in some ways if there were no cooperation. I would say this: The great community we had before must not be lost under any circumstances. A worthy, legal basis of cooperation must be created, and this is being done within the framework of the CIS. The Commonwealth must be established as conceived at Viskuli [the Viskuli agreement which was reached at Belovezhskaya Pushcha and named after the government residence in Brest oblast where talks took place] as cooperation of the cultures, the peoples, and the economies. One must say that our mutual relations must not be guided by rulers or ideological dogma. We must join together in that popular upsurge of friendship which always existed.

On behalf of the Republic of Belarus, the leadership of the Republic of Belarus, and the people of the Republic of Belarus, I would like to wish you a happy New Year, would like 1993 to be the last difficult year of reform for you, and hope that in 1994 we achieve what we are striving for, that each person can be master of his own fate. We are not alone in the process of transforming totalitarian structures into democratic ones, and if China and the Baltic countries can manage a good showing in the development of industry and the economy, I would like this to be achieved by all CIS countries. We have sufficient intellectual potential and enough patience for this, and I am convinced that 1994 will bring us new successes. I wish you a happy New Year, a happy 1994 and the years after it! I wish you happiness and joy and all the best that life offers!

Moldova

Snegur 'Optimistic' About Outcome of Ilascu Affair

AU3012194393 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 30 Dec 93

[Text] President of the Republic of Moldova Mircea Snegur today granted an interview to our radio station. Referring to the main events next year in Moldova—the

27 February elections and the adoption of the new constitution—Mr. Mircea Snegur said that the two events mark new steps toward the democratization of society.

The important problems that have to be solved next year include the improvement of the image of the Republic of Moldova in the world and of the domestic political situation, especially the situation in the eastern and southern rayons of Molodva, and the speeding up of the economic reform process.

In connection with the sentence pronounced in the trial of the Ilascu group, President Snegur recalled that, from the very beginning, the Presidency had done all that it could to have the detainees transferred to the appropriate constitutional bodies in Moldova; he said that he was optimistic about the case's outcome.

Mr. Snegur also emphasized the need to re-establish the four-way mechanism to seek a peaceful solution to the situation in the Dniester region.

As for the year to come, President Mircea Snegur expressed the hope that the obstacles that have emerged so far in relations between Romania and the Republic of Moldova will be overcome more successfully. He also expressed the hope that these relations will continue to develop.

President Snegur Delivers New Year's Address

LD3112171993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1600 GMT 31 Dec 93

[New Year's address by President Mirca Snegur "to Mayak listeners"—recorded]

[Text] The Republic of Moldova ends 1993 on an optimistic note. We have had a peaceful year. We have gathered a good food harvest. We have moved forward along the path of economic reforms. It is sufficient to say that privatization has begun. A national currency—the Moldovan lei—has been introduced. I think that these are good grounds for optimism and a good starting point for the new year, 1994, on which we are placing great hopes. Especially because recently the meeting of heads of CIS states agreed on new ways toward economic integration and the creation of conditions for the normal functioning of the national economies.

On behalf of the people of Moldova, I congratulate all the people of the world from my heart on the new year of 1994. I wish you all strong health, great happiness, peace, and prosperity.

Happy New Year.

Bucharest Radio Reports Address

AU0101194294 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 1 Jan 94

[Text] In his New Year's message, President Mircea Snegur emphasized that a political shortfall is the reason for the tense situation in the eastern rayons of the republic. He denounced the separatist ambitions of the leaders in Tiraspol and reaffirmed his determination to ensure the territorial integrity of the state. We will not tolerate blackmail, pressure, and interference from outside, President Snegur also said.

Recalling the dependence on suppliers of material resources, especially energy resources, and the acute problem of markets for the sale of products, Mircea Snegur affirmed that these factors have raised, first and foremost, the need for adherence to the CIS economic union. He added, however: Our position is a single one, namely that Moldova will participate solely in the activity of the economic structures of the CIS. I have also reaffirmed this position at the recent meeting in Ashgabat.

President Snegur also talked about the elimination of the consequences of totalitarianism, the democratization of the entire public activity, the promotion of political and economic reforms, and about the transition to a market economy.

Snegur Reviews 1993 With Diplomatic Corps Members

LD3112122393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1113 GMT 31 Dec 93

[Text] According to President Mircea Snegur, 1993 has been not easy for Moldova.

Receiving members of the diplomatic corps, accredited to Moldova, in Chisinau on Thursday night for a New Year he mentioned among the country's main problems the unresolved issues on Transdniestria and Gagauzia (southern Moldova), the shortage of goods, growing prices, and falling population incomes.

However, these setbacks, in his opinion, are compensated by obvious rewards, including the passage of democratic laws, the introduction of a national currency, and the population's growing confidence in irreversible reforms.

Kazakhstan

President Nazarbayev Delivers New Year's Message

LD3112155793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1458 GMT 31 Dec 93

[New Year's address by President Nursultan Nazarbayev; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] I wish to use this opportunity provided by Ostankino to address all the residents of the Commonwealth of Independent States, all its citizens. I want to wish you all a happy New Year. I would also like to say this to you: My dear compatriots! No, its not a slip of the tongue. Indeed, we all come from a common fatherland. Even though today we are separated by the borders of independent states, we have been brought up on the same land. A land bathed in our forefathers' sweat and blood. They worked on this land, on this field. They raised children, they believed in a better future. Special relations, special ties were established between the peoples of the former Soviet Union, binding together the hearts of all the people, and it was this that helped our fathers, our peoples, leaders of our states, to find the best solutions for the sake of the common people.

Times are not easy for us now, but I am convinced that we will find ways toward prosperity; we cannot fail to find them. I believe in the wisdom of all the peoples of the former Soviet Union; therefore I believe we will find them.

Now I want to address you all with just one thing. I want to wish that we all retain the friendly ties we had and still have; to retain them in the year 1994, to retain them in order to quench the fire of fratricidal war in the former Soviet Union so that 1994 becomes a year of mutual trust, a year of rapprochement, not one of divergence. We have nothing to quarrel about. I favor moving toward prosperity through unification, through mutual help, through setting up a common market space.

Happy New Year, dear compatriots.

More on Address

LD0101115494 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0751 GMT 1 Jan 94

[New Year's message by President Nursultan Nazarbayev; place and date not given; from the "Mir" broadcast—recorded]

[Text] Despite the fact that people are experiencing the hardships of the transitional period, as we call it, and that these hardships still exist, well, as the saying goes, hope is always the last thing to die. So I would like all Commonwealth states to look to the future with optimism. Why? Because the people who belong to the former Soviet Union have experienced many hardships. I should very much like 1994 to be, for all the peoples, a year of insight, the year of the realization that only unity, only the preservation of the friendship that did nevertheless, exist in the former Soviet Union between the peoples, and [the preservation] of the wisdom that has always existed in our peoples—that is what will lead to prosperity.

Be that as it may, life moves on. Whatever happens, we are doing everything to improve people's lives in the future. So I urge wisdom, prudence, calm, respect by every person for the person next to him, respect by people for one another, and respect by states for one another.

Today ultimata have to be removed from the vocabulary. Today one must speak with the language of understanding, the language of cooperation, and the language of mutually beneficial trade.

I wish everyone happiness and health. I hope that in every family there is prosperity, and that 1994 brings every family at least some small joy.

Almaty Radio Reports Address

LD0101102094 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0700 GMT 1 Jan 94

[Text] President Nursultan Nazarbayev addressed the peoples of Kazakhstan with a New Year's message. He said: Despite the difficulties of the present period we managed to preserve our republic' main asset—public and political stability, civil and interethnic accord. This is the cornerstone on the basis of which we succeeded in avoiding economic and political upheavals and we can confidently face the future. Maintaining such an atmosphere is most valuable and we can be proud of this. It could facilitate the process of reforms in our society.

I am grateful to you, my compatriots and like-minded people, for your support. By the powers, that have been given to me by the Constitution and you, I guarantee observation of the principle of equality and liberties of all people, irrespective of nationality, religion, and social status. Kazakhstanis should not worry about their future and the future of their children. All of us have a common motherland, the Republic of Kazakhstan, and we should think about its prosperity. The current year should become one of the more important stages on this path. I wish optimism, wisdom, and strength to each Kazakhstani and each family so as to undergo all the trials with credit. Happy New Year, my dear compatriots.

Nazarbayev Comments on Dual Citizenship, Language

LD3012182793 Almaty KAZTAG in Russian 1400 GMT 30 Dec 93

[Excerpts] President Nursultan Nazarbayev has been interviewed by the information agency POSTFACTUM. The interview raised issues of dual citizenship and the language policy of our republic, prospects for integration

processes in the CIS, the forthcoming elections to the parliament of Kazakhstan, and the personnel policy at the highest echelons of power. [Words indistinct] all Kazakhstanis are interested in the president's position on these issues. KAZTAG, having received this information through its own channels, presents it to the wide circle of readers.

If the Russian-speaking community in Kazakhstan does not have any problems, then why does the republic refuse to adopt a law on dual citizenship—especially as Russia does not want to abandon its intention?

Our Constitution does not allow dual citizenship, said the president. But this is not what concerns people. In 10 months, 154,000 Russians arrived in Kazakhstan, including 54,000 from Central Asia. There are those who are leaving the country. At present, migration has increased by [words indistinct] of Kazakhstan. This year, 300,000 of them left the country. The balance is not in our favor. But if we take the embassies of the United States, Israel, and other Western countries—citizens of Russia queue there for exit visas and leave the country forever. Why don't we talk about this? To use emigration as an argument is political populism.

People are worried about a different thing. I have been told the following—during the time of the present policy, which is pursued by Nazarbayev—there is no reason for us [Russians] to worry. But we [Russians] should think about the future of our children. I do understand these people and therefore, by my statute, several amendments to the Constitution have been made. In particular, the original version says that the closest relations of Kazakhstanis wishing to move [word indistinct] have to wait from five to 10 years for citizenship. At present, the documents for getting citizenship should not be examined for more than six months. Apart from this the term during which Kazakhstanis should make up their mind with regard to citizenship, is extended until 1 March.

By the way, said Nazarbayev, I have sent to Boris Yeltsin and Viktor Chernomyrdin a draft agreement on the main principles for obtaining citizenship in Kazakhstan and Russia. I think we will sign it.

In accordance with this document, the negotiating sides pledge to urgently adopt relevant legislature that will simplify the procedure for obtaining citizenship both by Kazakhs and Russians. Their applications should be examined for no longer than six months from the day of submission [words indistinct]. I believe that this agreement will eliminate all problems. There is nothing there to divide Russians and Kazakhs.

Journalists displayed interest in the issue of the second language. [passage omitted]

Our Constitution enshrines that Russian is the language for interethnic communication, noted Nazarbayev. The main law clearly stipulates that the language for interethnic comminication is used along with the state language. [passage omitted]

Kazakh, the language of 8 million people, is on the brink of extinction. Due to this we have been forced to elevate it to the status of the state language. Russians themselves spoke about the need for that. [passage omitted]

POSTFACTUM asked President Nazarbayev to touch on the issue of international integration.

You know, I believe in prosperity through unification and not disintegration, said the president. Well I have not succeeded in maintaining the ruble zone. There is nothing we can do about it. We are not to be blamed for this. As an economist, I understand the Russian side but as a politician, I do not. The strategic loss of the ruble zone is Russia's loss. [passage omitted] By the way, said Nazarbayev, a draft of an economic union agreement belongs to Kazakhstan, a draft of the defense union has been submitted by Kazakhstan. A proposal to eliminate inter-state barriers has been put forward by Kazakhstan. You cannot lay any claims. This is my position—useful contacts should not be disrupted.

Have you ever been reprimanded for a pro-Russian policy?

Yes, he admits. We do have our own nationalists. Fortunately there are not many of them. [passage omitted]

We are wrongly accused for pumping resources out of Russia. We have been told that in the old days, without Russia we would not survive. Now we neither depend on Russia for power supplies or for food. On the contrary, Russia owes more to Kazakhstan than Kazakhstan to Russia. [passage omitted]

Does Kazakhstan intend to take into consideration the Russian experience in elections?

Naturally we are going to take into consideration the experience of Russia, said the president. But we have a slightly different situation from Russia. [passage omitted]

During the news conference, journalists asked him about a rumor that is circulating in Kazakh political circles: That Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko is going to resign.

I do not have any intention to replace the prime minister, said the head of state. I do not think that any government has gained anything from replacing their prime ministers three or four times. The frequent change of prime ministers led to the situation that there is nobody in these republics with whom you can have business. In addition, Tereshchnko is an experienced leader. [passage omitted]

Foreign Minister Welcomes CIS Noninterference

LD3112122793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1113 GMT 31 Dec 93

[Text] Kazakh Foreign Minister Taleutay Suleymenov praised the Ashgabat Declaration at a news conference in Almaty Thursday [30 December].

He highly appreciated the pledge made by CIS member states not to interfere into one another's internal affairs, respect one another's territorial integrity, never apply economic pressure and fight expansionism, chauvinism and ethnic enmity.

Suleymenov also stressed the importance of Ashgabat decisions on the setting up of a Commonwealth economic union.

"We should follow the example set by Western countries," he emphasized. In his view, if the CIS economic union is a success, a transnational currency may be negotiated.

Defense Minister Sees Cooperation With Russia as Main Issue

LD0201215194 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1930 GMT 2 Jan 93

[From the "Radio Slavyanka" program of the Russian Defense Ministry]

[Text] The main issue for Kazakhstan in the military sphere is close military cooperation with the Russian Federation, according to an address by Kazakhstani Defense Minister Sagadat Nurmagambetov to the military department collegium. We quote from KAZAKHSTAN SARBAZY—WARRIOR OF KAZAKHSTAN. Realistic conditions for such cooperation do exist, the minister stressed. The legal basis for this is the document on friendship and cooperation between Kazakhstan and Russia.

Specialists Say Military Doctrine 'Defense Oriented'

LD0201225394 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1930 GMT 2 Jan 94

[From the "Radio Slavyanka" program of the Russian Defense Ministry]

[Text] Kazakhstan is as yet the only state in Central Asia that has adopted its own military doctrine. The document expounds a system of views on preventing war and on the development of national armed forces. Specialists consider Kazakhstan's military doctrine to be defense oriented and propose cooperating with the CIS countries and tackling common tasks in the military sphere. Multilateral and bilateral intergovernmental agreements and treaties should serve as the legal basis for interaction with the CIS countries in the defense sphere.

Tajikistan

[illegible]egation Holds Talks With Afghanistan on [illegible]ugees

LD3012160493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1344 GMT 30 Dec 93

[Text] Tajik and Afghan officials met at Sherkhan, a town in northern Afghanistan on the border with Tajikistan, on Wednesday [29 December]. Taking part in the meeting were Tajik Foreign Ministry officials, members of the Parliamentary Commission on Tajik Refugees' Repatriation and representatives of Afghanistan's National Islamic Movement, led by General Abdurashid Dustum.

The influential general controls large areas in northern Afghanistan on the border with Tajikistan.

His envoys are reported to have informed the other side of Kabul's readiness to put him in charge of Sherkhan.

His emissaries assured their Tajik counterparts that Dustum would do all he can to restore a transit camp for Tajik refugees at Sherkhan. In their words, Dustum's units will guarantee the safe return of Tajik fugitives to their homeland.

More than 50,000 Tajiks fled into Afghanistan at the peak of military hostilities there in 1992.

Situation 'Still Calm' on Afghan Border

LD0301110694 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0950 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] The situation is still calm on the Tajik-Afghan border. The Russian troops stationed in Tajikistan informed INTERFAX, however, that the calm would be temporary.

The military link this with the positive results of Afghan President Borhanoddin Rabbani's visit to Tajikistan at the end of 1993, with the cold and snowy weather in the mountains and with rifts between Afganistan's various political forces.

A few days ago, two thirds of the Kazakh battalion operating in the territory of the Khorog border-guard unit in accordance with last year's Minsk agreement, were removed from Tajik territory. However, no replenishments have arrived yet, all of which may weaken this section of the Tajik-Afghan border.

Security Chief Says 'No Real Threat' of Seizure From Outside

LD3012192493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1742 GMT 30 Dec 93

[Text] The chairman of the National Security Committee of Tajikistan, General Saidamir Zukhurov, has

said that there is no real threat of Tajikistan's seizure from the outside, since the republic has enough forces to rebuff an aggression.

In an interview with Interfax Thursday, he said that the so- called "Tajik government in exile" does not present any threat to the republic's legitimate authorities. However, it will trouble the country and destabilize the social and political situation.

Zukhurov said that the Dushanbe authorities are prepared for talks with both the armed and political opposition. "It is up to them to have their say," he said.

Tajik Parliament Lifts Curfew in Dushanbe, Other Cities

LD3112173393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 31 Dec 93

[Text] Tajikistan's Parliament has lifted the curfew in Dushanbe, Kurgan-Tyube, Kulyab, and Kalininabad as of midnight January 1 at citizens request because the situation in the cities has returned to normal.

The curfew and state of emergency were declared in the capital on January 6, 1993 and were imposed on Kurgantyube, Kulyab, and Kalininabad on March 30, 1993 to restore law and order, guarantee the citizens safety, confiscate weapons from illegal armed groups, curb pillage and other heinous crimes.

The curfew was in effect from midnight till dawn.

The state of emergency is still in force.

As Nikolay Majar, a senior interior ministry official, has told Interfax, not later than January 6, 1994, the state of emergency must be either lifted or prolonged since the decree on it is valid only for up to one year.

Turkmenistan

President Niyazov's New Year's Message

LD3112190993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1734 GMT 31 Dec 93

[New Year's message from President Saparmurad Niyazov in Ashgabat—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed friends and citizens of our Commonwealth. On the eve of the new year I send my best wishes for happiness and prosperity to everyone, to every family, to every region, and to every country. The end of the outgoing year and the results of the Ashgabat meeting of the Commonwealth heads of state have brought hope that in the interests of our peoples we can cooperate to mutual advantage.

The first steps in this direction have been taken. Openness, equal partnership, trust and the preservation of economic ties will help us overcome the difficulties.

As the new year approaches, everyone imagines peace in their own way. We in Turkmenistan are concerned not just about our own problems, but also about problems that arise for our Commonwealth partners. We are happy at every success of theirs. Turkmens say that peace and prosperity in the house of your neighbor are your peace and prosperity. So on this new year's eve, on behalf of the Turkmen people, I wish all of you peace and prosperity.

Let the new year bring you happiness, joy, and health. A happy new year to you!

Reviews 1993

LD0101145594 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1333 GMT 1 Jan 94

[Text] In his new year address Turkmenistan President Saparmurad Niyazov said that "most wishes and aspirations" of the country's residents for 1993 had materialized "with the help of Almighty Allah."

"Our country has met its targets in both the political and economic fields. Independent Turkmenistan which chose positive neutrality to be the overriding principle of its foreign policy has established itself in the CIS and other international organizations as a country which follows unswervingly its own road and has succeeded in reducing the world tension. By its courageous political and economic steps Ashgabat has on numerous occasions been in the center of attention," Niyazov said.

He added that it was necessary that relations with neighboring Iran, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Afghanistan and Russia be based on mutual respect and equality.

"We are pleased with establishment of a new level of relations with the Russian state, he emphasized. When the Russian president stayed in Turkmenistan we signed important treaties which will maintain and improve the earlier good relations with the great neighbor and start equal, mutually beneficial cooperation."

Niyazov described the introduction of the national currency, the manat, as one of major events and expressed confidence that the manat will consolidate in 1994. (The official rate of exchange is now 601 ruble per manat - IF).

The president also said that the government had developed a concept of oil and gas production in the country until the year 2020. As its own oil and gas policy are put into effect, Turkmenistan "will reach the level of developed countries," he emphasized.

In Niyazov's words, Turkmenistan's armed forces "will never be the cause of trouble for other countries" but "will not allow disturbing the peace and well-being in the republic."

Niyazov Speaks at Airport Prior to Visiting Iran

LD0301120694 Ashgabat Radio Ashgabat Network in Russian 0200 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Excerpts] Turkmenistan's President Saparmurad Niyazov left for a visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran early yesterday morning. Here is a report by our correspondent from Ashgabat Airport: [passage omitted]

[Begin Niyazov recording] [Words indistinct] we will visit many cities of Iran, we will meet people, we will meet Turkmens. We hope that the two peoples will live in peace and will not think about their tomorrow. We have important agreements between the two states on completing the railroad, on transporting gas; we have separate agreements on various branches of economy. During this visit, the issue of the border between the two countries is among the agreements to be signed. These are for the benefit of the Turkmen people. We are trying to help the Turkmen people to live without any worry. We wish this for the Iranian side, too. Therefore we will sign that agreement. We are very happy that the Iranian state and its president, our brother Rafsanjani, invited us. This is an important invitation [words indistinct]. This visit of ours is historical. I hope that this trip will enable the two countries to have continuous economic relations and [words indistinct]. [end recording]

President Saparmurad Niyazov was seen off at the airport by Sahatmuradov, speaker of the Turkmenistan Assembly, and other officials.

Uzbekistan

Government Suspends Publication of Russian Newspapers

LD3012191093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1742 GMT 30 Dec 93

[Text] In a surprise move, the Uzbek Government has suspended the publication of two Russian newspapers, PRAVDA and RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA. No formal explanation has been given.

Since the two papers are printed in Tashkent, the decision has affected subscribers not only in Uzbekistan but also Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan, and parts of Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan.

Local observers say RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA may have been punished because of its carrying of an article about LDP [Liberal Democratic Party] leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy in its December 24 issue.

President Karimov Delivers New Year's Address

LD3112164693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1608 GMT 31 Dec 93

[New Year's address by President Islam Karimov; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] All the people seeing out the old year and seeing in the New Year have their own problems, worries and experiences which are different from others. But I am convinced of one thing: All of them are united by the feeling that they wish peace and well-being, they wish well to, first, their families, children, close friends and relatives, the kray and the land they live on, the land which unites us all.

We should realize this can be achieved only if we are together. Only cooperation and mutual understanding can make this possible. We are practically destined for integration.

This New Year's Eve night I would like to address all the people. I wish to say the following:

People: Be vigilant!

People: Be happy!

President Leaves for Official Visit to India

LD0301113694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1108 GMT 3 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Bilor Niyazmatov]

[Text] Tashkent January 3 TASS—President of the Republic of Uzbekisan Islam Karimov flew off to India on Monday [3 January] at the head of a governmental delegation for an official visit.

Expected To Sign Agreements

LD0301132294 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1307 GMT 3 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Zaitsev]

[Text] New Delhi January 3 TASS—Uzbek President Islam Karimov is to arrive in Delhi on Monday afternoon for the beginning of a three-day official visit. The visit is expected to include the signing of six agreements which will determine the further development of Uzbek-Indian relations, in particular in the commercial and economic spheres.

Karimov is expected to hold talks with Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao which will touch upon a wide range of bilateral and international questions. The Uzbek leader is also scheduled to give a speech at a meeting of the Confederation of Indian Industry.

As the "NATIONAL HERALD", a paper known to be close to Indian government circles, pointed out, "Uzbekistan desires to cooperate with India in the industrial and trade sectors in order to stimulate its privatisation process and the transition to a free market economy". Therefore the Uzbek delegation includes the heads of recently privatised key enterprises in the Middle Asian republic, according to the paper.

In its turn, India is ready to offer wholehearted help to the friendly ex-Soviet republic during this difficult transitional period of economic restructuring, the "NATIONAL HERALD" declared.

Arrives in India

LD0301150494 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1453 GMT 3 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Bulantsev]

[Text] New Delhi January 3 TASS—President of Uzbekistan Islam Karimov arrived in India on a three-day official visit. The esteemed guest was received by President of India Shankar Dayal Sharma in the presidential palace decorated with the national flags of the two countries.

During his talks in the Indian capital, Islam Karimov will meet with Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao and other leaders of the Republic and also address a meeting of representaives of India's business circle.

As already reported, during the course of the visit the Uzbek president will sign six agreements which will define the further direction of Indo-Uzbek cooperation, above all, in the sphere of trade and economy.

Armenia

Azeri Attacks Reported; Situation Updated

NC3112200893 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1430 GMT 31 Dec 93

[Excerpts] Azerbaijan's Government and Armed Forces commit a crime against the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] and Armenia prior to every jubilant occasion or religious festival. Be it a Christian festival or Nowruz [spring festival] or New Year makes no difference. The enemy attacked the defense positions around Tavush in Mardakertskiy Rayon on 26 December. The onslaught was rebuffed. Azerbaijan lost 42 men in the fighting. Another attack took place against Askeranskiy Rayon on the same day. That, too, was rebuffed. Azerbaijan lost 57 fighters in the clashes.

The enemy resumed its attacks on the defense positions in Mardakertskiy, Martuninskiy, and Askeranskiy Rayons early on 28 December. The enemy has maintained its onslaught until now. However, the NKR military units have been able to check the advancing forces. The HAY LUR NEWS AGENCY has reported that NKR lost 32 men in the 10-day fighting before 29 December. Azerbaijan's military forces were forced to retreat after losing 650 men at the battlefronts.

Foreign mercenaries are fighting among the ranks of Azerbaijan's military units. They are commanded by generals from Turkey. However, Azerbaijan's leaders have denied the presence of Afghan mojahedin in that republic's armed forces. Nevertheless, REUTER has reported that an airplane has recently landed in Kabul to return the dead bodies of the Afghan mojahedin who were killed in the fighting in Nagorno-Karabakh. [passage omitted]

Azerbaijan's leaders have recently moved to find a way to draw Armenia into the fighting. The Azerbaijani troops have recently fired on the border towns in Armenia's Idzhevanskiy, Tavushskiy, Araratskiy, and other rayons with various types of arms.

Defense Ministry Report

NC3112151793 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1400 GMT 31 Dec 93

[Text] Defense Ministry press service reported that tension persists on the Armenian-Azerbaijani border. The defensive positions around Dirants in Idzhevanskiy Rayon were shelled from Azerbaijani territory at 1320 on 30 December. The enemy fired toward Sevkar in the same rayon between 1730-1750. The artillery shelling of Dirants resumed in the early hours of 31 December. The enemy also opened fired on the border post near Vahan in Krasnoselskiy Rayon during the daytime on 30 December. The defensive positions around Yeraskhavan in Araratskiy Rayon were fired upon from Nakhichevan in the evening of 30 December. There were no casualties. The Armenian side refrained from retaliating.

Casualty Figures Given

NC3112151293 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1400 GMT 31 Dec 93

[Text] Having violated the cease-fire reached with the Russian mediation, the Azerbaijani troops have been launching constant attacks for the last two weeks now all along the entire front in Karabakh.

Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] Defense Army press service reported that the defensive positions in Mardakertskiy Rayon in the north, and those in Martuninskiy Rayon to the south have been coming under attack for the last day. The Karabakh Army units are successfully resisting the pressure of the Azerbaijani formations in both sectors.

The NKR Defense Army spokesman provided the following information concerning the enemy's losses since the Azerbaijani Army launched its latest offensive: Six Azerbaijani tanks and four armored cars were hit. Five captured tanks have already been repaired. The number of Azerbaijani troops and officers killed reach 700.

Some 42 soldiers were killed and three tanks destroyed on the Karabakh side.

In the opinion of the military observers, the huge losses suffered by the Azerbaijani Army are ascribed to the inclination of the new Azerbaijani leadership to achieve some military breakthrough for certain domestic political reasons. The same sources said that haphazardly formed and poorly trained infantrymen are being used in active combat operations against the Karabakh positions.

Another offensive was launched against the Karabakh positions to the north of Mardakertskiy Rayon at around 0730 this morning. After having lost two tanks and 40 infantrymen, the Azerbaijani units were forced to retreat to their initial positions.

Foreign Ministry Protests Shelling

NC3012204693 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1800 GMT 30 Dec 93

[Text] The Armenian Foreign Ministry sent a note to the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry yesterday. The message states: Armenian Republic's rayon centers and settlements in Noyemberyanskiy, Idzhevanskiy, Tavushskiy have been subjected to unprecedented shelling by Grad launchers and long-range artillery from Azerbaijan's Tauzskiy and Kazakhskiy Rayons as of 1030 on 29 December.

Certain sectors along the Armenian-Azerbaijani border, particularly Sisianskiy Rayon, were also subjected to artillery shelling during the day.

Considerable material damage has been inflicted on these rayons. Material destruction has been caused, and there are dead and injured among the peaceful populatio[illegible]

Against the background of the large-scale offensive that was launched against Nagorno-Karabakh on 21 December, Azerbaijan's military operations cannot be interpreted as anything other than a renunciation of the process of peaceful resolution of the Karabakh problem and another attempt to drag Armenia into the war.

The Armenian Foreign Ministry is making a firm protest to the Azerbaijani side, stressing that such a policy is dangerous for the stability of the entire region and does not conform with the position of the international community.

By rejecting the efforts of the CSCE's Minsk Group, the peacemaking mediation of the Russian Federation, and the UN Security Council resolutions, Azerbaijan has virtually isolated itself from the international community.

By firmly rejecting such a political stance by the Azerbaijani side, the Armenian Foreign Ministry is authorized to declare that Armenia reserves the right to respond in a like manner if these operations are repeated.

At the same time, we appeal to the sagacity of the Azerbaijani side and call on it be realistic and resolve its problems with Nagorno-Karabakh exclusively through peaceful means and in conformity with the internationally accepted norms.

President Warns Aliyev

LD3112105393 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in English 2340 GMT 30 Dec 93

[Text] On 29 December, in the evening, Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan had four telephone conversations with the president of Azerbaijan, Mr. Heydar Aliyev. The Armenian president demanded from his Azeri counterpart to stop the bombardment of the Noyemberyan, Idzhevan and Daush districts of the Republic of Armenia at once or else the Armenian side will similarly respond to the Azeri side.

The ARMENPRES news agency, quoting Armenian Defence Ministry sources, said that after the telephone conversation of the Armenian president with Aliyev the bombardment of the northeastern districts of Armenia stopped at once. The situation there is reported calm during the night and during the day.

President Views Causes of Economic Hardship

NC0101082794 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2050 GMT 31 Dec 93

[New Year's message from President Levon Ter-Petrosyan to the Armenian people—live]

[Text] Dear compatriots, I do not want to hide the fact that it is difficult to make an appropriate (?toast) to the presidential message on the occasion of the new year. I want to analyze the current situation without any (?intention) of self-justification or escaping criticism.

In my yearly report to the parliament a few days ago [words indistinct]. I think that deputies should be generally satisfied with the (?explanations) given.

The situation in our newly independent state is very [words indistinct]. Not only our daily tables but also the festive tables are poor or almost empty. And we could still face new difficulties and even graver days. Hard work [word indistinct] will remain an inseparable part of our lives for a long time to come.

This is the result of the state's emergence from the fall of empires. [words indistinct] Scores of years are needed for the creation of a secure and prosperous state. If anyone promises you something else, do not believe him. They have fed you for a long time with talk of miracles, but miracles happen only in fairy tales.

At present, as a people and government we are solving one single problem: evading the (?revival) [word indistinct] of the Soviet Union. We must note with utmost pride that we are successfully solving that problem. That success is evident in Armenia's balanced foreign policy, the full governability of the situation, and the internal stability in the Republic. The (?collapse) of any of these three political factors is fraught with far graver consequences than the ones generated by price increases and the fall in the standard of living, which are temporary phenomena that can be corrected.

Armenia's successes [words indistinct] become more conspicuous when compared to the countries sharing the same fate. It is an undeniable fact that not only Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Tajikistan, which were more or less at our level, but also strong Russia could not escape internal tremors.

Armenia's success was not mere chance, but above all the result of wisdom displayed by the people and hard work by the state structures. Despite all the defects and shortcomings, the state's role cannot be (?denied) in this success. While proudly noting this fact, we must protect and deepen this valuable success in the coming year because times are still very dangerous and the situation is extremely (?complex).

At this moment I do not want to touch on current affairs, such as the stabilization of industry, regulation of the currency circulation, promotion of trade, elimination of irregularities, economic reforms, and wage indexation. This is not because I do not think that these problems are important, but because it is impossible to talk about them since other more fundamental problems are the main cause of these difficulties.

The first is the settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, or more correctly, the establishment of peace in Nagorno-Karabakh. Despite the success of the Karabakh

self-defense Army, the continuation of the war is fraught with serious danger that threatens the Armenian people's security and prosperity.

Because of the war, Armenia is being subjected to a blockade imposed not only by Azerbaijan and Turkey but also by international financial organizations, who are imposing open and covert sanctions. Therefore, to talk about Armenia's economic development and improvement in the people's living conditions is tantamount to engaging in self-delusion or political speculation, which is being successfully implemented by certain opposition forces. Because the war is continuing, no substantial improvement can be made in the Republic's economy and the people's standard of living no matter who is in power.

The Armenian authorities' position on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict has been and continues to remain the same: The peaceful settlement of the conflict and a mutually agreed upon solution. The Armenian and Nagorno-Karabakh authorities have given a positive reply to the CSCE Minsk Group's peace plan, as well as to the mediation initiative of the Russian Federation. Therefore, the establishment of the peace depends not on the Armenian side but on Azerbaijan's position and on the coordination of the peace efforts of the international community and Russia. I can inform you that there is movement that inspires hope in both directions.

The second fundamental problem facing us is the adoption of the Armenian Constitution. Its centerpiece is the legislative guarantee of human and civil rights, the clear division of power, and the ensurance of the unimpeded and effective functioning of the government. At first glance this problem looks academic, in view of the burden of numerous daily problems, but it also has practical significance. The adoption of the Constitution will undoubtedly discharge the atmosphere of the political conflict and will give the opportunity to [word indistinct] redirect our people's spiritual and intellectual potential towards constructive and creative labor.

And, finally, the third main problem affecting our normal course is to ensure energy independence for Armenia. Under the conditions of the blockade, the work on this matter means continuing to find alternate energy sources. We hope that the drilling work to find the Republic's underground resources will begin soon. However, the possibility of reopening the Armenian nuclear power plant is the most concrete and realistic source of energy. The preliminary work connected with its reopening has already been completed and I want to inform you with pleasure that in the opinion of experts this work is (?satisfactory). The production of power by the nuclear plant is scheduled to begin toward the end of next year.

That is peace, Constitution, and nuclear power plant; these are our slogans for the new year, 1994.

Happy new year to you.

Azerbaijan Accused of Preventing Pipeline Repair

NC3012201093 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1800 GMT 30 Dec 93

[Statement issued by the Armenian Government in Yerevan; date not given]

[Text] Armenian Deputy Prime Minister Vigen Chitechyan and Armenian State Minister Gagik Shakhbazyan are in Tbilisi for talks with Georgian leaders on repairing the bombed gas pipeline and improving freight transportation.

The Azerbaijani Army used insolent force against the representatives of the Armenian leadership, the Georgian experts, and the security forces who had gone to repair the gas pipeline that was blown up on 24 December in the Azeri-inhabited region in Georgia's Marneulinskiy Rayon, north of Armenia. In this way, the Azerbaijani Army virtually prevented the start of repair work on the gas pipeline.

The Armenian Government views this action as a gross interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. Such interference creates tension that is fraught with new and unpredictable consequences for the region.

The Government of the Armenian Republic hopes that the Georgian authorities will take the appropriate measures to prevent infringements by the Azerbaijani side and that the Azerbaijani leadership will refrain from carrying out acts of sabotage in another country that directly affect Armenia's vital interests.

Leaders Discuss Transit Cargo Problems

NC3012151093 Yerevan SNARK in English 0903 GMT 30 Dec 93

[Text] Yerevan, December 29 (SNARK)—Today the Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan has a phone talks with Eduard Shevardnadze, the Head of the Georgian state. As SNARK was informed at the press-center of the Armenian president, a problem of cargo conveyance for Armenia and the restoration of gas pipe-line damaged in the Marneul region in Georgia was discussed.

In the opinion of most observers, transit Armenian cargo's plundering has got in Georgia a kind of official character. As a result, hundreds of railroad cars and trucks don't get [to] their destination places in Armenia. Georgia takes the most part of gas from Turkmenistan, for which Armenia has already paid in gold. Vazgen Sargisyan, the Armenian state minister, has said recently that "the Armenian government has to feed not only Armenia but also Georgia."

Survey Shows 80 Percent Without Basic Foods

LD3112101193 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in English 2340 GMT 30 Dec 93

[Text] The center of Sociological Research at the Armenian Academy of Sciences headed by Gevork (Bobosyan), based on the opinion polls conducted in

November and December 1993, have come to the conclusion that about 80 percent of the urban population of Armenia are incapable of purchasing the basic foodstuffs after the introduction of the national currency, the dram.

The level of monthly income is insufficient to buy the necessary food in the minimal amounts. One kilogram of butter, 1kg of sugar, 1kg of cheese, meat, and at least 5kg of potatoes, to say nothing of the expenses (?and) public utilities transportation, and which is most important today, kerosene and wood for heat.

According to the experts at the center the coming indexation of wages will lead to greater forestalling increase in prices on the market which will only make things worse. [sentence as heard] The state of the Armenian economy nowadays is such that a sweeping indexation of wages for all budget enterprises without a differentiation by the level of income will result in further decrease in living standards the growth of inflation and the fall of the dram rate. In such a situation it would be more advisable to redistribute the money reserved for indexation and spend it on guaranteed rationing of basic foodstuffs in minimal amounts at least for that part of the urban population whose income is not higher than 100 drams per family member.

The introduction of food cards for low income families proposed by the analysts of the center will not affect the other groups of population (?so it) would not promote the further growth of prices and hyperinflation. On the contrary, it will to some extent soften the disastrous situation we are facing this winter.

Azerbaijan

Aliyev Invited To Visit Turkey, Iran

NC0201190094 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 2 Jan 94

[Text] The Azerbaijan Presidential Press Service has disclosed that President Hashemi-Rafsanjani has conveyed a letter to President Geydar Aliyev that focused significant attention on the need to strengthen friendship and cooperation between Azerbaijan and Iran. Taking that into consideration, President Hashemi-Rafsanjani invited President Aliyev to visit Iran at a convenient time.

It will be recalled that President Suleyman Demirel invited President Aliyev to visit Turkey a day before President Hashemi-Rafsanjani's invitation was received.

Baku Cites Gasanov on Talks in Tehran

NC3112195493 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 31 Dec 93

[Text] Foreign Minister Gasan Gasanov, who is on an official visit to Tehran, has said in an interview that the objective of his visit is to hold talks with the Islamic Republic of Iran's leaders and exchange views on the memorandums that were drawn up for [word indistinct] and cooperation between Azerbaijan and Iran when President Hashemi-Rafsanjani visited Baku. Gasan Gasanov held talks with President Hashemi-Rafsanjani and Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati. Special attention was focused on matters related to the dispute and fighting between Azerbaijan and Armenia. It was noted that the establishment of durable peace on the basis of mutual respect for each other's independence and territorial integrity is a decisive factor for the future of all the countries in the region.

Aliyev's Decree on Call Up of Recruits Reported

NC0201190894 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 2 Jan 94

["Text" of President Aliyev's decree calling up recruits; date not given]

[Text] Azerbaijan's citizens who were born between 1967 and 1975 and who became 18 years old prior to the call-up date are called upon to register for active military service from 3 to 23 January. The call up applies to citizens who are not legally exempt from serving in the Azerbaijan Armed Forces and the other legal military units.

According to the law, citizens who have attained call-up age but who have not enlisted for active military duty have a responsibility to work in alternative services.

The Azerbaijan Council of Ministers takes the necessary measures within the framework of the law to have this decree put into effect.

[Signed] President Geydar Aliyev

Armenians Reportedly Attack Azerbaijani Village

LD3112170493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1557 GMT 31 Dec 93

[Text] Armenian troops on Friday morning launched an offensive on Bash-Gervend, a village about 10-15 km north-east of Agdam, Azerbaijan's Defense Ministry said.

The Armenians concentrated most of their attacking troops, supported by 20 tanks and armored personnel carriers, in the area between Agdam and Barda. The Azerbaijani army has put up a stiff defense, the ministry said. It said the Armenians, in the past 24 hours, had lost three armored vehicles, two cannon and one Grad multiple-rocket launcher.

Fighting was also raging on Friday around the border between Fizuli and Beylagan Districts, where Armenian forces were attacking Azerbaijani positions near the Agburun strategic height.

Nearly 40 Killed in Fighting

LD3112125693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1113 GMT 31 Dec 93

[Text] Azeri troops attacked Karabakh positions in the north of the Mardakertskiy District Friday, officials in the Karabakh army press center told Interfax. They said that the Azeris had retreated after losing two tanks and nearly 40 troops.

On the day before Karabakh units stood their ground against enemy attacks in the north of the Mardakertskiy District and in the east of the Martuniskiy District of the Nagorno Karabakh Republic. No data on casualties was immediately available.

A Karabakh army spokesman said that six Azeri tanks and four armored personnel carriers (APC) had been knocked out and five tanks captured and repaired in recent days, over 700 Azeri soldiers had been killed. The Karabakh forces lost three tanks, two APCs and 42 men.

Sanctions Against Armenia Urged

NC3112170293 Baku Radio Baku International Service in Azeri 1300 GMT 31 Dec 93

["Text" of statement by the Azerbaijan Ministry of Foreign Affairs; date not given]

[Text] Armenia's armed aggression against Azerbaijan continues to bring misfortunes to the Republic's people. The recent intensification of the aggression is yet another confirmation of Armenia's [words indistinct].

Armenia is making an effort to occupy new areas in Azerbaijan in total disregard of the peaceful initiatives made by several international organizations and foreign countries. Massing reinforcements and heavy military hardware, the Armenian Armed Forces intensely shelled Azerbaijan's Kazakhskiy, Tauzskiy, and Akstafa Rayons and the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic's Sadarak Rayon with rocket launchers and artillery units during the past few days. The wave of shelling began on 26 December. More than 100 Grad rockets and (?artillery shells) fell on Azerbaijan's peaceful border towns and several quarters in Kazakh City. Consequently, many peaceful people have been killed and several schools, medical centers, and means of transportation have been destroyed.

The Armenian Armed Forces, supported with armored vehicles, have prepared to launch an attack from the previously occupied Agderinskiy, Agdamskiy, and Fizulinskiy Rayons. Regardless of the losses they have suffered in their attacks earlier, they have not abandoned their attempts. In addition to the acts of violence, our republic is also being subjected to a ferocious propaganda campaign, which is being waged not only by Armenia's media organs but also by the parliament of that republic. The objective behind their unfounded statements and reports is to camouflage Armenia's policy of aggression against Azerbaijan and mislead the world on the situation.

The Azerbaijan Ministry of Foreign Affairs is convinced that Armenia will be completely responsible for the consequences of the intensified aggression against Azerbaijan. The aggression will lead to new losses and create additional misfortunes for the peoples of the two countries.

Azerbaijan urges the United Nations and international organizations to condemn Armenia's aggression and impose political and economic sanctions against that republic.

Fierce Fighting Continues

LD0201143694 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1347 GMT 2 Jan 94

[Text] There have been fierce battles in the north and south of Nagorno-Karabakh in the past twenty-four hours, an Azeri military source told Interfax. On Saturday, Armenian forces supported by 15 tanks tried to launch an offensive some 15 km north of the Sarsan water reservoir but were contained by Azeri troops. However, there was further fighting there on Sunday.

The source said the Armenians lost two tanks and one artillery piece in Saturday's battle close to the towns Geranboy and Ter-Ter. However, nearby Azeri villages came under heavy artillery fire from Armenian forces on Sunday morning.

Last night, a number of Azeri villages in the Belagan region were brought under rocket fire by Armenian units. But no word is given of casualty or destruction.

President Geydar Aliyev of Azerbaijan on Saturday issued a decree to award a large group of officers and men for "successful defense operations," the defense ministry said.

Yerevan Accused of Escalating Hostilities

LD3112170793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1557 GMT 31 Dec 93

[Text] The Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry has accused Armenia of escalating hostilities in Nagorno-Karabakh. In its statement published today, the ministry points out that this "is another evidence of the annexationist policy" pursued by Yerevan.

The ministry stated that "all responsibility for the new round of hostilities entirely rests with Armenia whose actions doom the people of Azerbaijan and its own people to new victims and sufferings" calling on the world community to condemn the Armenian aggression and impose efficient political and economic sanctions against it.

The statement points out that the Armenian side neglects peacekeeping efforts by both international organizations and individual states attempting to seize more territories of Azerbaijan.

The ministry said Armenians had been shelling and rocketing the bordering districts of Azerbaijan situated in the north-west of the republic since December 26 as well as the village of Sadarak belonging to the Nakhichevan autonomous republic. Armenian units undertook an attempt to launch an offensive on the north and south of Azerbaijan. The ministry said civilian villages suffered heavy damages from hundreds of shells and rockets leaving victims and destroying homes, schools, hospitals and transport communications.

Turkey Against Shipping Oil Through Bosporus

NC3112221293 Baku TURAN in English 1948 GMT 31 Dec 93

[Text] Baku (December 31) TURAN—"Ankara will not agree to ship the oil tankers through the Bosporus", said the Ambassador of Turkey to Azerbaijan, Altan Karamanoglu, to a Turan's reporter.

The matters concerning the ways of Azeri and, in prospect, Kazakhstani oil to Europe has yet to be considered. Russia suggests that oil should be shipped to the Black Sea's port of Novorossiysk and then by tankers to Europe. However, Turkey disagrees saying that this variant is oecologically dangerous.

"We can not put at stake ten-million Stambul city", said the Ambassador Karamanoglu.

Turkey as well as a number of the countries suggest that Azeri oil should be shipped to the port of Iskenderun (Mediterranean Sea) through the oil pipe-line and then by tankers to Europe. Azerbaijan insists on laying the pipe-line through Iran, Nakhichevan and Turkey.

Involvement in Pipeline Explosion Denied

NC3012195993 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1300 GMT 30 Dec 93

["Text" of statement by the Presidential Press Service in Baku; date not given]

[Text] Armenia's mass media outlets have recently intensified their frantic behavior against Azerbaijan. This approach is aimed at provoking interethnic discord and creating a negative image of Azerbaijan's people and an inaccurate impression of the nature of the dispute between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

The reports published by Armenia's news agencies, stating that the Azerbaijani people are to blame for the destruction of the natural gas pipeline in Georgia's Marneuli Rayon, are typical of the unhealthy and insidious Armenian propaganda activities. These reports are an example of the information disseminated against Azerbaijan.

It is true that the pipeline, which supplies natural gas to Armenia, was sabotaged in Marneuli Rayon on 18 December. However, it is common knowledge that the Armenian military units control that (?pipeline). Furthermore, the pipeline is protected by mines that were laid by the Armenian side. In fact, several Georgian workers sent to repair the damage to the pipeline were seriously wounded by an exploding mine. Thanks to the measures taken by the leading officials in neighboring Kazakhskiy Rayon in Azerbaijan, urgent medical aid was given to the wounded workers in Kazakh City. The workers were then transferred to Georgia.

The matter has nothing to do with Azerbaijan carrying out destructive activities and taking hostages. On the contrary, it is related to Armenia's harmful activities against the citizens in Georgia, which is a sovereign republic, and Azerbaijan's humanitarian approach toward those who have been harmed as a result of provocative activities [words indistinct].

Undoubtedly, Armenia's provocative activities have not been effectively condemned. Unfortunately, [words indistinct] radio and television company in Russia have created favorable opportunities for the broadcasting of Armenia's completely unfounded information without attempting to verify it.

Manat Becomes Sole Currency as of 1 Jan

NC3112220493 Baku TURAN in English 1948 GMT 31 Dec 93

[Text] Baku (December 31) TURAN—In line with the President Aliyev's decree, since January 1 1994 only Azerbaijan's national currency manat will have purchasing power of money on the territory of the country.

Ministries, concerns, unions and enterprises irrespective of form property are ordered to transfer all financial operation to manats. If the enterprises have roubles on their accounts, the Banks must exchange roubles in manats (correspondingly 1 manat amounts to 10 roubles).

Bank-notes with value 1, 3, 5, and 10 roubles issued in 1961- 1992 can be exchanged in manats during December 31 (1 manat 10 roubles).

Georgia

Ministry Reports Abkhazian Attack on Zugdidi

LD3112131193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1113 GMT 31 Dec 93

[Text] Abkhazian troops attacked the village of Ganmukhuri, Zugdidi District, officials of the Georgian Interior Ministry told Interfax.

The Georgian units held the enemy back. There are no reports of casualties.

Abkhazians Leave Captured Village

LD0201195294 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 1800 GMT 2 Jan 94

[Text] As you know, the Abkhaz side on 30 December once again breached the conditions of the Geneva agreement. More than 100 armed Abkhazians entered the village of Ganmukhuri which is situated on the other [west] side of the Inguri river. In this connection, Georgian Prime Minister Otar Patsatsia left for Zugdidi.

Our correspondent today got in touch with Givi Lominadze, chairman of the interim committee for emergency situations in west Georgia, and asked him to give us more detailed information about the incident.

Unfortunately, after the fall of Sukhumi, the villages of the Zugdidi and Tsalenjikha areas—Ganmukhuri, Taya, Pakhulani, Muzhava, and others—fell into the hands of the Abkhaz side.

After the republic's government troops entered Zugdidi, Vakhtang Kobalia's letter asking Ardzinba to keep his promise not to enter these villages was found in the desk of one of the officials. As it emerged, the first copy of this letter was sent to Ardzinba. We do not know how seriously Ardzinba took Kobalia's request, but the fact remains that, as we have told you above, on 30 December at noon about 100 Abkhazians entered the village of Ganmukhuri. According to the local population, they behaved correctly. The Abkhazians said that their move was prompted by a report alleging that the Georgian side planned to attack on 1 January.

It must also be said that some Georgian army formations whose job it was to guard these villages did not carry out the duties delegated to them.

As a result of negotiations, the Abkhaz side left the village.

As I have told you, Georgian Prime Minister Otar Patsatsia left for Zugdidi, where he held a meeting and demanded that certain army formations and their leaders treat their duty with greater responsibility and guard villages to prevent such instances in the future.

Batoni [honorific title] Givi Lominadze noted at the end of the conversation that every measure is being taken to retain peace and stability in the region.

Ministry Denies Buildup of Troops in Tbilisi

LD3012155893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1500 GMT 30 Dec 93

[Text] A representative of Georgia's Defense Ministry called reports that forces are being concentrated in military camps around Tbilisi blatant disinformation designed to discredit the Defense Ministry. The Security Ministry also denied reports that the main bulk of its forces were being concentrated in Tbilisi. The Security Ministry is not ready to comment on the incidents in Tbilisi on 24 and 25 December before the state commission investigating them, headed by Prime Minister Patsatsia, has finished its work.

Shevardnadze's New Year's Message Aired

LD3112203993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1700 GMT 31 Dec 93

[New Year's Message by Georgian State Council Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze—recorded]

[Text] In connection with the incoming new year of 1994 I would like to speak about the threats and dangers, which have in effect been hampering and opposing the formation of true independence and the establishment of democratic states. First, there is the economic recession and economic collapse. Given mutual support it will be possible to achieve the restoration of the old economic links and the establishment of new ones. Given mutual support and mutual solidarity and active help from the West it will be possible to make 1994 the beginning of economic recovery, the revival of all our economic life and on that basis an improvement in social conditions for each citizen of our countries.

Second, I have in the past had occasion to say that after the end of the cold war and the disintegration of the Soviet Union aggressive and bellicose separatism would become the main threat to peace and stability in various parts of the globe. We have experienced for ourselves what separatism means. It means thousands of people killed and shot dead and hundreds thousands of refugees. It means genocide and ethnic cleansing in actual reality. It seems to me that in 1994 we shall be able to achieve a real breakthrough in the fight against this evil and establish peace and stability in our countries.

Third, in recent years much has been said about the threat of approaching dictatorship and the revival of fascism. In Ashgabat it seemed to me that we have now realized the whole stern reality of the reconstruction of fascism, the spread of fascism. Once we have realized this I am confident that we shall beat fascism and beat this 20th Century plague. It seems to me that 1994 will be a crucial year in the fight against fascism.

Success in these three areas will bring peace and prosperity to each family within our independent and free states. I wish you happiness and prosperity. Thank you.

Shevardnadze Comments on 1993 Events

LD0101153394 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1330 GMT 1 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tengiz Pachkoria]

[Text] Tbilisi January 1 TASS—Chairman of the Georgian Parliament Eduard Shevardnadze gave an interview to the republican TV and radio on the occasion of the new year. Assessing the situation in 1993, the Georgian leader mentioned both the negative and positive results

of the economic and political development of the republic. Positive results include the end of the civil war in Georgia and the joining of the CIS. Shevardnadze described the joining of the new Commonwealth as one of the most significant events in the life of the republic. Speaking about negative results, he mentioned the tragedy in Abkhazia, the temporary loss of control and jurisdiction over some other cities and districts of Abkhazia, too hasty putting in circulation of the Georgian coupon on the territory of the republic and the deterioraton of the crime situation.

According to Shevardnadze, 1994 should become a year of the improvement of the economic situation in Georgia and the CIS in general, whose leaders understand full well that they can resolve the acute economic and other problems only by joint efforts. Shevardnadze is pinning much hope on the restoration of economic relations with the former USSR republics and on the establishment of new economic, political and other relations with the CIS member states. He said in his new year interview that 1994 should witness the end on the basis of justice of the conflict in Abkhazia, which, in his opinion, is guaranteed by the active work of international organisations, the CSCE, and the positive role played by Russia and other countries, which are friendly to Georgia, specifically, the U.S., Germany and so on. He expressed confidence that hundreds of thousands of refugees from Abkhazia, who are now living in other regions of the republic, in Russia and other CIS member states, will be able to return home.

He pointed out that 1994 would witness the adoption of a new Georgian constitution. If the new constitution is adopted this year, then parliamentary elections will probably be held in 1994 too. Naturally, he did not mention the date of the elections.

Shevardnadze Signs Edict on Oil Field Security

LD3112153093 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0300 GMT 31 Dec 93

[Text] The Georgian head of state has issued an edict on securing order at oil-prospecting areas on the territory of the Republic of Georgia.

As from the beginning of 1994, oil prospecting, which will contribute to bringing the country out of the energy crisis, is planned to be carried out with the participation of foreign firms in the territory of the Republic of Georgia. In order to secure order at geological survey sites at the oil fields:

1. Full responsibility for the security of people engaged in work at the oil fields and the establishment of order in the corresponding areas will be given to the Georgian Ministry of Internal Affairs. The Ministry of Internal Affairs and the state Georgian Petroleum will sign an appropriate agreement and create proper conditions for police sub-units to carry out the assignment.

2. The Ministry of Internal Affairs will prevent any attempts by armed formations to obstruct establishment of proper order at oil- prospecting sites and refining installations.

3. The Georgian Ministry of Justice and the Procurator's Office will examine the state of the management of security at the installations and submit propositions about appropriate amendments to be introduced in the legislation to the Georgian parliament and the Georgian head of state.

[Signed] Eduard Shevardnadze

Shevardnadze Decree on Boosting Production

LD3112152293 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0300 GMT 31 Dec 93

[Decree issued by Georgian head of state Eduard Shevardnadze; place and date not given: "Georgian Head of State's Decree on Boosting Production of Small-Size Power Engineering Projects"]

[Text] The situation in the fuel and power complex of the Republic of Georgia being critical, large-scale development of small-size fuel and power engineering projects like small hydroelectric power stations, mini-works for processing coal and elements of its concentration, installations of non-traditional [word indistinct], and so on becomes particularly urgent because these require comparatively small investments, secure quick returns and, along with other measures, contribute to a quicker breakthrough in the energy crisis.

A number of interesting developments of this sort have been drawn up in the republic. However, so far, their implementation has proved to be impossible. In addition, no appropriate legal mechanisms have been created by legislative and government enforceable enactments, that will promote and encourage private capital and foreign investments, allotment of specific state credits for speeding up the creation of small power engineering installations, proper and timely reaction to propositions put forward by foreign investors, and so on.

In order to secure a rapid and large-scale development of the fuel and power projects:

1. The Georgian Cabinet of Ministers, together with the Georgian National Bank, will promptly scrutinize a project drawn up jointly by the U.S. Association of Resource Funds and the Georgian Association for Small-Size Power Engineering, stipulating the allotment of a long-term credit of (?20) billion U.S. dollars for the construction of about 200 small hydroelectric stations and will submit a motion enforced with appropriate guarantees.

2. Following propositions of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, the Georgian Mining Society and the Georgian Association for Small- Size Power Engineering will be approved:

(a) To manufacture fuel briquettes from coal, concentration material wastes and slag, and also to equip industry with works producing boilers and other heating devices for housing and public utilities that will use coal as fuel.

(b) To establish two small (?hydroelectric stations) at a Zhinvali [near Tbilisi] hydropower station reservoir and a buffer reservoir at Hudoni [western Georgia] that will secure the implementation of the program on the utilization of hydropower resources.

In response to this, the Georgian National Bank will provide the Georgian Association of Small-Size Power Engineering and affiliated specialized firms with credits of 3.5 billion coupons in 1994 for the period of three years, with an annual interest rate of 2 percent for the production of coal fuel briquettes and furnishing of industry for the production of heating devices and installations; 18 billion coupons for the construction of mini-hydroelectric stations, 2 billion of the total sum for 1993, and 16 billion coupons for 1994 for a period of four years with the rate of four percent.

3. Georgian state departments Saknakhshiri [coal], Sakgazi [gas], Saknavtobi [petroleum], and the Georgian State Concern Navtobproduktebi [Petroleum products] will render assistance for the development of a proper material and technical basis for [word indistinct].

4. The Georgian Ministries of Industry, Agriculture, and Foodstuffs Production, Trade, and Supply, as well as the State Committee of Air Transport and the Department of Highway Transport will render assistance to the Georgian Association of Small-Size Power Engineering and its affiliated firms in carrying out barter operations for importing small-size [word indistinct] and equipment to be mounted in them.

5. The Georgian Cabinet of Ministers, together with the Georgian National Bank, will stipulate the provision of long-term privileged credits for the development of small-size power engineering in 1994 and the following years, and establish a permanent control over the management of the funds.

6. The Georgian Cabinet of Ministers, along with the appropriate ministries and government agencies will, in two months time, draw up and submit for approval a draft legislative and other juridical and legal enactments, the implementation of which would promote the development of small-size power engineering in the republic.

[Signed] Eduard Shevardnadze

Abkhaz Leader 'Skeptical' About Talks

LD0301124594 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1125 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] Tbilisi, 3 Jan—IBERIA reports that in his address on Gudauta radio, Vladislav Ardzinba, leader of the Abkhaz separatists, said that he is skeptical about Georgian-Abkhaz consultations which are to be held in Moscow on 11 January.

"In Tbilisi, they do not want to reconcile themselves to the idea that Abkhazia will no longer be a part of Georgia. Abkhazia has won the war. And conditions are set by the winners not by the losers. It is only possible to talk about a treaty being signed by Abkhazia and Georgia as equal entities. Such a treaty will not in any way limit Abkhazia's sovereignty, since we are also planning to sign similar treaties with Russia and other neighboring countries.

"As for the return of the refugees, I believe that the Georgian side is using this issue for speculative aims. We prevent no one from returning home. However, many of those who are on the run do not have a clear conscience. They know well that nobody will forgive them their collaboration with the occupation army. Those who met Georgian troops with open arms will not be able to live in Abkhazia", Vladislav Ardzinba said.

Russia Accused of Violating UN Resolution

LD0101215994 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 1700 GMT 1 Jan 94

[Text] According to CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY, Tengiz Sharmanishvili, deputy chairman of the Committee for Interethnic Relations and Human Rights, sent a letter to the Georgian Foreign Ministry.

The letter says: Russian news sources have recently circulated news of the Russian Government's decision to lift the economic sanctions imposed on Abkhazia. As of now, Abkhazia's towns and villages are receiving electricity without hindrance.

The Abkhaz committee for human rights and interethnic relations states that the Abkhaz side has several times breached the clauses of the Geneva memorandum on mutual understanding signed by Georgia and Abkhazia; it has not stopped combat actions against Georgians in the Kodori gorge, is settling scores atrociously with the peaceful Georgian population in the Gali rayon, and is not taking any measures for finding those missing and reburying the killed; it is doing virtually nothing for the return of those evicted from their own land.

The Russian Government's new year gift is nothing less than a breach of Resolution No. 876 of the UN Security Council and casts doubt on the implementation of the Geneva memorandum on mutual understanding.

Kavsadze Views Geneva Talks on Conflict

LD3112210493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1604 GMT 31 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Denis Perkin]

[Text] Moscow, 24 Dec [date as received]—"Russia can and must resolve the problem of settling the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict," thinks Sandro Kavsadze, chairman of the Georgian State Committee for Human Rights and International Relations. He made the statement at a

news conference on preparations for the second round of the Geneva talks on the settlement of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict scheduled for 11 January 1994.

"Our main aim is to settle the conflict by peaceful means. One cannot wait any longer because killings and deportation of people are still going on," Sandro Kavsadze stressed.

Summing up some results of the first round of the Geneva talks which were held at the end of November and beginning of December, he appreciated Russia's assistance in holding the talks. Among the results was the memorandum on Mutual understanding which included an obligation by the parties to refrain from using force for the period of the negotiations, an exchange of POW's based on the principle of "everyone in exchange of everyone," and measures for resolving the refugee problem. The talks also covered the necessity for Abkhazia's economic revival and recognition of its autonomous statehood by the parties. As regards the second point, the Georgian spokesman clarified that "Abkhazia should have an autonomous statehood, but the question is what statehood."

As for Russia's role in the conflict settlement, Sandro Kavsadze thinks the involvement of Russian armed forces under the aegis of the United Nations is necessary in order to create guarantees for security in the region. The Georgian spokesman stressed: "We are trying to convince Russia that there is no alternative."

Curfew Lifted in Tbilisi for Two Days

LD3012173693 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 1700 GMT 30 Dec 93

[Text] I will familiarize you with the order of Tbilisi Commandant Zaza Chachua.

In connection with the arrival of the new year, 1994, the curfew in Tbilisi is to be lifted for two days, as of 2300 [1900 GMT], 31 December 1993 until 2300, 2 January, 1994.

Interpol National Center Head Appointed

LD3112103093 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0300 GMT 31 Dec 93

[Text] The Georgian Internal Affairs Ministry has become a member of Interpol. By Georgian Interior Minister Shota Kviraia's order, Police Major Giorgiy Aleksidze has been appointed the head of the Georgian Bureau of Interpol National Center.

Giorgiy Aleksidze was born in 1962. He graduated from Tbilisi State University. He has held the office of the head of a department in the Georgian Security Ministry. He has a perfect command of the French and English languages.

Estonia

Minister Discounts 'Secret Protocols' Rumor

LD3012224793 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 30 Dec 93

[Text] Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste comments to correspondent Uku Toom on the latest statements in connection with the withdrawal of Russian forces from Estonia. As is known, Russia has expressed a readiness to withdraw the forces from Estonia by 31 August 1994.

[Begin recording] [Toom] How do you assess that statement by Svirin [head of the Russian delegation for talks with Estonia on troop withdrawal] that Russia has already presented to Estonia a schedule of withdrawal of forces on 2 (?September)?

[Velliste] This corresponds to the truth, altogether, and Svirin has improvised a little on the theme of the schedule, that he has, by word of mouth, presented (?some considerations) approximately when [word indistinct] could go. But this has been a very approximate guidance, nothing has been put in writing and presented on paper.

[Toom] The Estonian Progress Party held a news conference and expressed doubts on the subject of all these talks. The Progress Party somehow casts suspicion about some kind of secret protocols with these talks, that Russia has demanded something as compensation for the withdrawal of forces, and that Estonia has probably promised in connection with, for example, the forces' pensioners.

[Velliste] If there was a secret protocol it would very quickly be revealed. There is no (?reason for) [word indistinct] in a democratic state. We have not a single essential thing that would not reach the newspapers, [words indistinct] (?in the nearest time) newspapers. Some kind of secret protocol could, in general, (?be checked) [words indistinct] living in a democratic state. [end recording]

Registration of Soviet Passports To Continue

WS3112122393 Tallinn BNS in English 1724 GMT 30 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, Dec 30, BNS - The Estonian Interior Ministry reports that the earlier announcement about the cessation of registration of Soviet passports for foreign travel on January 1 was erroneous.

Soviet foreign passports of foreigners living in Estonia on the basis of residence permits or as settlers who moved to the country before July 1, 1990 are registered in local bureaus of the citizenship department. A stamp of the department as well as an official stamp are put on the first page of the passport which is also signed by a bureau official.

A registered passport remains valid until July 12, 1995 or the end of the residence permit.

The Interior Ministry has advised persons planning foreign travels to take along their Soviet internal passports.

Latvia

Ulmanis Seeks NATO Ties for Baltic States

PM3012124693 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 19 Dec 93 p A12

[Report on interview with President Guntis Ulmanis by Mert Kubu in Riga; date not given]

[Text] Riga—The Baltic countries must be given at least the status of associate members of NATO if they are to be able to feel secure after the Russian elections. Moral and economic support from Sweden and the other Nordic countries is also necessary in the new situation which has arisen, Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis, 54, said in an interview with DAGENS NYHETER.

In President Ulmanis' view the Latvians will not be able on their own to get the Russian troops to leave the strategic radar base in Skrunda in southwestern Latvia. World opinion and perhaps a third country in the West should help to put pressure on Moscow and Yeltsin.

It is the presence of the Russian troops which is the biggest problem in Latvia. It is true that the situation has improved somewhat recently as a result of "silent withdrawal." This week it was reported that the number of Russian troops had fallen from 17,000 to 13,000. But Moscow is also demanding to be allowed to keep the radar installation for at least another six years. The Skrunda installation, whose task it is to give early warning of intercontinental missiles, is not only a political problem. It is also destroying the environment because of its powerful magnetic fields. The trees in the woods are withering, animals, birds, and even people are being affected.

Ulmanis received DAGENS NYHETER at his temporary residence, an imposing patrician villa in Riga. The house has been lent by a Latvian woman who lives in exile in France. The president's security guards checked our bags. His office is enormous, the floor in front of his desk like a small dance floor.

Ulmanis had just returned from this week's crisis meeting of the three Baltic presidents in Tallinn. Concern after Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's great electoral success is great in the Baltic region. At the meeting the presidents—Estonia's Lennart Meri, Lithuania's Algirdas Brazauskas, and Latvia's Ulmanis—agreed on a common strategy and an appeal to the rest of the world.

Has President Ulmanis himself met Zhirinovskiy?

"No, never, nor do I want to meet him."

The response was rapid.

"Obviously we are worried that the Russian Liberal Democrats won so many votes. But life goes on. Now we will have to adjust our policy. I would like NATO to undertake a real analysis of the Russian election result and abandon its passive policy vis-a-vis the Baltic region."

"Partnership for peace" is not enough. A first step toward security is that the Baltic countries be given the status of associate members, Ulmanis said. He is hoping for much from the NATO summit early in the new year.

What does he expect of Sweden and the Nordic area?

"Moral support, to begin with, and this is something that is not so insignificant. But we must also be given help to put our economy in order, with capital investments and support with credits."

Are not the requirements in the proposed new citizenship law not too strict vis-a-vis non-Latvians? People will have to have lived in Latvia for at least ten years, be able to speak Latvian, and also annual quotas will be introduced limiting how many people can acquire citizenship.

No, President Ulmanis does not think so. The draft law is still undergoing its first reading in parliament. It will now be scrutinized by international organizations, including the Council of Europe. Ten years is perhaps a long time, he admitted, adding that he could perhaps imagine a "golden mean." But on one point it is impossible for the Latvians to give way: the language requirement. New citizens must be able to speak Latvian.

As a boy Ulmanis was deported to Siberia. What does he remember?

"A lot of snow. Very cold. I cannot remember ever satisfying my hunger. We were always thinking about a small country far away, about Latvia where the cows were brown and the meadows green and where people lived in harmony. That helped us to survive."

Guntis Ulmanis was clearly moved. "These are still painful memories," he explained.

So why has almost no one been brought to trial in the Baltic region for crimes against human rights during the years of occupation?

He believes that this is due to the fact that the communist period meant so much suffering, terror, and blood that people have still not gotten enough distance from it to be able to judge the guilty objectively.

"But the moment when we will be capable of doing so is very near," Ulmanis said.

What sort of Christmas is the Latvian people expecting? In the shadow of the Russian election result? With many poor people, even children begging on the streets of Riga? Rising crime?

Things are not easy for the old, the pensioners. Nor will all the farmers have a good Christmas, the president admitted. But he still hopes that Father Christmas will come to all, that people will light candles and forget the nationalists' successes in Russia. Despite everything Christmas 1993 is better economically than Christmas 1992. Economically Latvia is at rock bottom, but it is no longer sinking. Now things are starting to move upwards.

Compromise Proposals on Radar Station Possible

LD0201172294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1531 GMT 2 Jan 94

[Text] Latvia intends to clearly formulate its proposals connected with the possibility of letting Russia maintain its radar station in Skrunda in the near future. Riga hopes that negotiations on this issue will continue, Foreign Minister Georgs Andrejevs told Interfax.

He deplored the circumstance that in 1993 Latvia and Russia did not succeed in reaching agreement on the main issue—Russian troops withdrawal from Latvia.

However Russia's new initiatives aimed at stepping up the withdrawal of the remaining military units are a positive factor, the minister said. (Interfax's note: Russia proclaimed its willingness to withdraw its troops from Latvia before August 31st 1994, if it maintains control over the radar station in Skrunda for another six years).

Andrejevs also expressed concern about the circumstance that most Russians living in Latvia cast their ballots for Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party and for communists. "We have no illusions in regard to the sentiments of many Russians living in Latvia. Our practice shows that what motivates them is the desire to reverse the course of history and return to the recent past, not the striving for democracy," he said.

Former Prime Minister Godmanis Quits Politics

LD0201203194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1642 GMT 2 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga January 2 TASS—After studies in Germany ex-Latvian Premier Ivars Godmanis realized Latvians have little economic knowledge.

It was the first detailed TV interview of Godmanis after the resignation of his government. The ex-premier said he will no longer involve in politics after the Popular Front's defeat at the summer parliament elections. Godmanis admitted the reform methods were merciless.

Police Given 'Temporary Rights' To Search

WS3112122293 Tallinn BNS in English 1808 GMT 30 Dec 93

[Excerpt] Riga, Dec 30, BNS—The Latvian Cabinet granted the state police and the Home Guard temporary

rights to search transportation vehicles, their drivers and passengers on the basis of grounded suspicion, beginning Dec. 31.

The government motivated the decision with the increasing abuse of firearms and explosives in the republic and the fact that criminals often use cars as means of transportation. [passage omitted]

Lithuania

Brazauskas Chairs Defense Council Session

PM2912171193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Captain First Rank Valeriy Gromak: "If There Were a Doctrine, the Ministry Would Follow"]

[Text] A session of the Defense Council has been held in Vilnius. It was chaired by Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas.

The session discussed Lithuania's military doctrine. In addition it examined avenues for reorganizing the structure of the Ministry of National Defense.

Seimas Adopts Resolution on Foreign Policy

LD2912171693 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1500 GMT 29 Dec 93

[Text] Having examined foreign policy conducted by the Government of the Republic of Lithuania, the processes in the neighboring states and their possible influence on Lithuania, and endeavoring to strengthen the continuity of international policy and develop economic and defense contacts with international organizations, the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania resolves:

To recommend that the Lithuanian Government prepare in the immediate future a concept of Lithuania's foreign policy and submit it to the Seimas for examination during next year's spring session.

To recommend that the Lithuanian Government officially state its wish to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, strive for closer cooperation with Latvia and Estonia on the issues of national security, contacts with NATO and other structures of collective security; become an associate member of the West European Union; stimulate economic and political relations with Latvia and Estonia and the north and west European states; endeavor to become a member of the West European Union as soon as possible; support democratic forces in Russia and other CIS countries; and develop mutually advantageous relations with these countries.

To recommend to the office of the Lithuanian president, the Seimas and its Foreign Affairs Committee, the Government and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to supply each other with information within one week about the signed agreements and official statements on foreign policy by the president, the Seimas leadership, [words indistinct], the premier, and the foreign minister.

That the Government, ministries, and departments acquaint the Seimas Foreign Affairs Committee with the prepared drafts of international agreements before submitting them to the partners in negotiations.

This is the resolution by the Lithuanian Seimas, made public by ELTA News Agency.

Government Decides To Join GATT

LD2912212693 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2000 GMT 29 Dec 93

[Text] The Lithuanian Government has decided to join the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs [as heard] and to regulate the country's foreign trade in conformity with internationally accepted principles. Lithuania has acted as an observer in the GATT talks since the autumn of 1992. For Lithuania, joining GATT means obtaining the most favored nation status among the [word indistinct] countries of the world. (?Observers) say that by joining GATT, Lithuania would stabilize its foreign trade and stimulate the flow of foreign investments into Lithuania.

Landsbergis Debates Russian Troop Transit

WS3112125793 Tallinn BNS in English 1724 GMT 30 Dec 93

[Text] Vilnius, Dec 30, BNS - The problem of Russian military transit through Lithuanian territory was a key topic in radio debates Thursday between Justas Paleckis, presidential foreign policy adviser, and Vytautas Landsbergis, leader of the parliament's rightist opposition.

Paleckis said a solution acceptable to Lithuania, "which, of course, cannot be unilateral because interests must be coordinated," should be attained with the help of international organizations.

Landsbergis said Lithuania should not conclude any military treaties with Russia, to avoid the legalization of military transit. Lithuania can give permission for Russian transit in each separate case, he said, but denied allegations of wanting to completely ban military transit through Lithuanian territory.

Paper Views New Sources of Discontent, 'Tension'

MK3012122093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Dec 93 p 3

[Report by Tamara Nikolayeva in the "Lithuania" column: "A Year Ago They Were Dissatisfied With Landsbergis and Now With Brazauskas. The Incumbent Authorities Have Little Time To Fulfill Their Pledges"]

[Text] Social tension in Lithuania is mounting. It is hard to tell to what extent this is due to the difficult situation in the socioeconomic sphere and to what extent to the

artificial fanning of passions by representatives of the right opposition. Meanwhile, the industrial and agricultural production decline continues in the republic. The minimum wage, pensions, and student grants, with the start of the heating season when the owner of a two-room apartment has to pay more than 70 lits (an average pension) for public utility services, have lost any meaning even as a source of purely biological survival. At the other pole of society whole fortunes are emerging. At the same time, the basis of civilized capitalism—a broad middle class—is not being formed at all.

In November alone there were two major actions aimed against government socioeconomic policy. One of them was organized by pensioners and invalids, the other by land owners who even with falling production cannot sell even a small part of their output owing to the shrinking of the domestic market. Nor can they get any money for the products sold from the monopoly processors.

The social and economic complaints of both are quite understandable. Having served their purpose as a cause to express protest, however, they are now increasingly moving into the background under the pressure of political slogans and demands, the main ones being the resignation of the republic's present leadership, and early Seimas and presidential elections.

Seimas Chairman Cheslovas Yurshenas stated that the "rightists" have issued a challenge to the legally elected authority, taking advantage of the natural discontent of the people owing to the economic difficulties. The ruling majority in the Seimas assessed the November protest actions as the first patently demonstrated wish to overthrow the government after the "leftists'" one-year spell in office. The right opposition paper LETUVOS AYDAS is increasingly playing up the idea that early elections are simply vital. The independent TV-3 channel from Kaunas is conducting purposeful day-to-day propaganda against the republic's leadership.

The rightist opposition's trumps in this political game are indexation of the population's bank deposits and Lithuanian-Russian relations. The first card is apparently a sure win: Will there be many people capable of rejecting a 100-fold indexation of deposits, as proposed by the right opposition in the person of former premier Gediminas Vagnorius?

The other trump—Lithuanian-Russian relations—in contrast to the first, is not such a "win-win" as before, when Russian troops were still in Lithuania. Most people in Lithuania understand the present leadership's aspiration to establish normal mutually advantageous economic relations with Russia, and this is being persistently demanded also by Lithuanian industrialists and entrepreneurs. Nonetheless, any positive shifts in Lithuanian- Russian relations are interpreted by the "rightists" as a "secret conspiracy with Moscow" and the intention by the authorities to fall into the Russian sphere of influence. The right opposition party, the Fatherland Union, created on the foundations of Sajudis and led by Vytautas Landsbergis and Gediminas Vagnorius, has expressed its concern over the accords reached in the course of a recent meeting in Vilnius between the Lithuanian and Russian presidents on setting up a commission to corporatize the gas pipeline passing across Lithuanian territory as well as two major Lithuanian enterprises using Russian raw materials—Azotas in Ionava and Nafta in Mazheyka. The "rightists" interpret these accords as a threat not only to the economic but also political independence of Lithuania.

In the thick of the power struggle the "rightists" are not inclined to reckon either with considerations of economic expediency or the need to preserve social stability in order to overcome the crisis. Presumably the "rightists" suppose that at the present stage of the crisis there is every reason to hope for their advent to power through early elections. In this context the "leftists," incidentally, stated that last year's early elections, too, were staged by the "rightists" but the winner was the Democratic Workers Party of Lithuania [DWPL]. Today, however, the situation in Lithuania has changed substantially. At that time there was disappointment with the ruling Sajudis' policy and today the disappointment is no less, but this time with the DWPL. Of course, this party has received an unenviable legacy but its social policy pursued over the year has proved to be very far removed from its election pledges.

Nonetheless President Algirdas Brazauskas' popularity rating is still fairly high, running at least 10 points ahead of Vytautas Landsbergis'. The "leftists" have stated that they are not going to part with power until 1996 and that they will do everything to fulfill their election promises and lead the country out of the crisis. The "rightists," however, are pressing for a referendum to be held on the issue of early elections. Only if the present ruling majority, as represented by the DWPL, manages to adjust its social policy, will the idea of early elections possibly pass away, deprived of fertile soil.

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